

Stable Integrated Communities

A Report to

THE STEPHEN H. WILDER FOUNDATION

2007

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Foreword

Looking back on the last several decades of Cincinnati's history, there have been numerous community-wide attempts to understand Hamilton County's racial characteristics and to improve the relations between blacks and whites. An example is the "Summit on Racism" in 1995. Generally speaking, those efforts sought to answer the question: What is needed to remedy the problems we have?

This study intentionally departs from that approach by being affirmative. It seeks to answer the questions: What successes have we achieved in integration, are they enduring, and are they worth promoting to the greater benefit of all? The suggestion to take this affirmative approach came from Curt Paddock, a former member of the Cincinnati Association, now Land Use Department Director, Will County, Illinois.

Cincinnati Association Executive Committee members who authorized the project in the fall of 2005 were Jane Anderson, John Frank, Kent Friel, Deb Johnson, Wayne Hicks, Brewster Rhoads, Gwen Robinson, William Scheyer, and Patricia Smitson. Immediate past Association president, Mike Hammons, also endorsed the project.

Our funding application to the Stephen H. Wilder Foundation included letters of recommendation from Elizabeth Brown, Executive Director, Housing Opportunities Made Equal; Steven R. Howe, Ph. D., Professor and Head, Department of Psychology, McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, University of Cincinnati; and Zane L. Miller, Charles Phelps Taft Professor of History Emeritus, Department of History, University of Cincinnati. To all of these friends we are especially grateful.

Also endorsing this project, both in principle and with in kind support, was Ronald P. Miller, FAICP, Executive Director, Hamilton County Regional Planning Commission, to whom we also express our thanks. That organization's Community COMPASS project led to a Hamilton County master plan for the year 2030 based on four core goals. Among these were the goals to "Embrace Diversity and Equity" and to "Assure Economic Prosperity." This work aspires to contribute to both, since they are linked, but especially to the first, which has been much less frequently addressed in the depth it deserves.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this project was: *To identify Hamilton County's stable integrated communities and determine their socio-economic and self-image characteristics.*

Findings are that 13 communities simultaneously met diversity (between 10 and 60% black) and dispersal (blacks living on different blocks) criteria in three or more of the last four censuses. One neighborhood stabilized at ca. 75% black with no change over the last three censuses. All 14 of these communities either maintained or increased their level of integration, as measured by their dissimilarity index (DI).

This finding indicates significant slowing of the process of hyper-segregation, which marked the period 1940 – 1980. It challenges conventional wisdom based on the notion of a “tipping point” followed by transformation to majority black communities.

Moreover, the average Socio-Economic Status (SES) Index of the 14 most stably integrated communities in Hamilton County remained essentially constant over the period 1980 – 2000 and in seven communities actually increased. This challenges the notion that integration is accompanied by declining socio-economic status.

Residents of the three largest integrated communities said they placed high value on the following: (1) Learning about others who are different, (2) Being among and helping develop tolerant people, (3) Living in a purposefully diverse neighborhood, (4) Having multiple kinds of housing to choose from, (5) Having an abundance of small businesses and support services, (6) Having active faith communities, (7) Having safe communities, and (8) Getting more people engaged in community events and decision-making.

These results directly challenge and contradict the notion that integrated neighborhoods and communities are undesirable places in which to make a home. Rather, they are thriving communities presenting enrichment opportunities for all, resulting in much to celebrate and feel uniquely good about.

Brandon H. Wiers, Ph. D., Project Administrator
Cincinnati Association
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Stable Integrated Communities

Part One: Demographic Analysis

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Findings

There is good news for those who desire to live in stable racially integrated neighborhoods in Hamilton County. Starting with the 1970 Census, racial segregation declined modestly in the City of Cincinnati and to a smaller extent in suburban areas of the county (Figure 1, Table 1). This occurred as, over the three decades from 1970 to 2000, an increasing number of communities¹ found blacks and whites living together on the same blocks (Table 2). Indeed, at the 2000 Census, about one-quarter of Hamilton County communities were racially integrated by the measures used in this study. Moreover, starting with the 1980 Census, fourteen of those communities have maintained stable racial integration (Table 3). This is in sharp contrast to the results of a 1984 study that found few racially integrated neighborhoods between 1940 and 1980, and that those that did exist generally did so only as neighborhoods changed from largely white to largely black.

This news is also in sharp contrast to newspaper accounts of the 2000 Census that reported that “Cincinnati” remained one of the most racially segregated cities in the country.² However, many of these reports confused the City of Cincinnati with the much larger Cincinnati Primary Statistical Metropolitan Area, which ranked the 8th or 9th most segregated metropolitan area in the country depending on the study. In actuality, the City of Cincinnati ranked 67th most segregated among 245 cities with populations over 100,000.³

¹ See below Terms and Methodology for the definitions of neighborhoods and communities used in this study. For simplicity of discussion we use “neighborhoods” and “communities” interchangeably.

² Alliance for Leadership and Interconnection, “Cincinnati -- One of America's Most Livable Cities?,” *CityBeat*, November 8 - November 14, 2001; Ken Alltucker, “Racial Divide Wide in Region: Cincinnati One of Nations Most Segregated Areas,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 14, 2001. Both of these reports used sloppy or inaccurate geographic terminology that resulted in confusing or inaccurate accounts. Both were citing US Census Bureau reports on the segregation ranking of the Cincinnati Metropolitan Area. However, the *City Beat* piece reported that the city of Cincinnati was the eighth most segregated *city* in the nation. The *Enquirer* reporter started out his story by referencing the Cincinnati Metropolitan Area, but he then lapsed into writing about segregated cities when he continued to mean metropolitan areas.

To avoid confusion, we use “City of Cincinnati” to distinguish the city from the larger Cincinnati Metropolitan Area. “Suburban Hamilton County” refers to areas of the county outside the City of Cincinnati. “Hamilton County” refers to the whole county including both the City of Cincinnati and Suburban Hamilton County

³ At the 2000 Census, the US Census Bureau defined the Cincinnati Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA) as Dearborn and Ohio Counties in Indiana, Boone, Campbell, Gallatin, Grant, Kenton, and Pendleton Counties in Kentucky, and Brown, Clermont, Hamilton, and Warren Counties in Ohio.

The rankings cited here are based on the dissimilarity index, with the Cincinnati PMSA ranked at 8th by John Iceland, Daniel H. Weinberg, and Erika Steinmetz, *Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980 to 2000*, U.S. Census Bureau, Series Censr-3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002).; and 9th by Lois M. Quinn and John Pawasarat, “Racial Integration in Urban America: A Block Level Analysis of African American and White Housing Patterns,” (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2003), respectively. The City of Cincinnati ranking is from Reynolds Farley, “Racial Residential Segregation Measurement Project,” Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, <http://enceladus.isr.umich.edu/race/racestart.asp>. calculated from block level data for census places. The exact place of a locality in the segregation rankings depends on a number of factors including what index the researcher used and whether that index was calculated at the tract, block

Nevertheless, some of the data on race and residence in the county are mixed. In most neighborhoods in Hamilton County where integration has occurred, it has developed as black families have taken the place of relocating white families (Figure 2). At current rates, the City of Cincinnati will become a predominantly black city by the end of the century, but one in which the remaining whites are well integrated in some neighborhoods. Suburban Hamilton County remains predominantly white and will be for the foreseeable future, but at least a handful of communities are seeing greater levels of racial integration. It seems likely that the integration in these communities will persist for a period of time and current trends suggest others will join them. As with the City of Cincinnati, most integration is occurring as blacks replace whites.

An examination of the socioeconomic status of integrated neighborhoods also found mixed trends. Average socioeconomic status changed little between 1980 and 2000 for the group of fourteen stably integrated neighborhoods (Table 4). Average socioeconomic status also changed little during that time for a larger group of forty communities that included the fourteen stably integrated neighborhoods and another twenty-six neighborhoods that achieved racial integration for shorter periods starting in 1970 (Table 5). However, while half of the fourteen stably integrated communities saw increases in socioeconomic status, only about two in five of the larger group saw increases.

Overall, we found that smaller differences between the median incomes of blacks and whites accompanied decreased levels of segregation in Hamilton County's communities. We also found that smaller differences between blacks and whites on a broader measure of socioeconomic status accompanied decreased levels of segregation. Both of these existed regardless of the proportion of blacks in a neighborhood. In contrast, communities with higher white income levels tended to be more racially segregated.

Introduction

This study has examined the changing racial makeup and socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods and communities that make up Cincinnati and Hamilton County with a view to identifying those that have been racially integrated in the period from 1970 to 2000 and to examining why some have been stably integrated and others have not. In part, this study grew out of a desire to follow up on a 1984 report by Brandon Wiers to the Hamilton County Community Housing Resources Board. In that study, Wiers reported that stable neighborhood racial integration was largely nonexistent in Hamilton County. He found that only three neighborhoods were "significantly biracial" and integrated at both the 1970 and 1980 Censuses. Moreover, he showed that from the 1940 Census to the 1980 Census almost all neighborhoods that were racially mixed at any one census were actually in transition from white to black.⁴

group, or block level and, in the case of metropolitan areas what level of metropolitan area the researcher used. These may include Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA), Consolidated Metropolitan Areas (CMSA), and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSA).

⁴ Brandon Wiers, "Hamilton County Housing Trends: Are We Getting What We Want?" (Cincinnati: Community Housing Resources Board, 1984). See below Terms and Methodology for Wiers' definition of stable racial integration and our modification of it for this study.

Other studies of the history of neighborhood racial change in City of Cincinnati and Hamilton County from the early part of the twentieth century to the 1970s have shown that before the 1960s, the area saw almost universal discrimination against blacks seeking homes outside existing black communities. As racial change occurred in some city neighborhoods, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, neighborhoods generally turned over from white to black very rapidly. Block-level racial mixing occurred only for short periods on the expanding edges of black communities.⁵ These studies concluded that the lack of stable racial integration was not simply the “natural” result of individual choices of home seekers. Instead, they resulted in large part from a combination of:

- local, state, and federal policy choices;
- intentionally segregative real estate practices;
- intentionally segregative mortgage lending practices; and
- the individual choices of white homeowners who worked to maintain their neighborhoods as all white.

Researchers of other communities and of the national picture have arrived at similar conclusions. Indeed, there have been numbers of studies, since at least the 1960s that have examined the causes and consequences of racial isolation in American cities.⁶ Among the most influential of these are Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, 1993 and Sheryll Cashin, *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class Are Undermining the American Dream*, 2004. Both studies make powerful cases that public policy choices bear large responsibility for the segregated racial geography of American metropolitan areas. They also make a powerful case for the ill effects of the resulting racial isolation and concentrated poverty on these communities as a whole, not just on those individuals unwillingly confined to decaying inner-city black neighborhoods.⁷

Additional recent Cincinnati area studies have documented the current geographic locations and conditions of the region’s racially segregated communities.⁸ However, little research exists that identifies this region’s racially integrated communities, nor has

⁵ Charles F. Casey-Leininger, "Making the Second Ghetto in Cincinnati: Avondale, 1925-70;" and Henry Louis Taylor, Jr., "City Building, Public Policy, the Rise of the Industrial City, and Black Ghetto-Slum Formation in Cincinnati, 1850-1940," in *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970*, ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Robert B. Fairbanks, *Making Better Citizens: Housing Reform and the Community Development Strategy in Cincinnati, 1890-1960*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988)

⁶ For a listing of a number of earlier studies see, Casey-Leininger, 1993, 251, footnote 3.

⁷ Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); Sheryll Cashin, *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class Are Undermining the American Dream*, 1st ed. (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

⁸ See for example, Steven R. Howe and Erinn Green, "Impediments to Fair Housing Choice in Hamilton County, Ohio: A Report to the City of Cincinnati and Hamilton County," (Cincinnati: Steven R. Howe and Associates, LLC, 2004); Myron Orfield and Thomas F. Luce, *Cincinnati Metropatterns: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability in the Cincinnati Region* (Minneapolis: Metropolitan Area Research Corp., 2001).

research examined much about the conditions that have helped create stable racial integration here. The purpose, then, of this report and its companion by Prof. Erinn Green, is to help fill this public policy information gap.

Race and Residence in Hamilton County

Trends

Between 1940 and 2000, the percentage of blacks in Hamilton County grew and levels of segregation declined (Figure 1 and Table 1). The county saw its black population roughly triple from 64,304 in 1940 to 198,061 in 2000 (Figure 2). At the same time, the total population of the county peaked at 924,018 in 1970 and thereafter fell steadily to 845,303 in 2000. As a consequence, black population grew steadily from 10.3% to 23.4% from 1940 to 2000. From 1980 to 2000, segregation, measured by the dissimilarity index decreased, also at a steady pace, but remained in the high range, dropping from 82.8 to 75.3 over that period. On the dissimilarity index, 100 is complete segregation, while 0 is complete integration.

Much of the total population decrease in the county since 1970 was the result of a declining population in the City of Cincinnati. The city's population reached its maximum of 503,998 in 1950 and fell to 331,285 in 2000. During this time, black population grew steadily from 55,593 in 1940 to 142,176 in 2000. From 1940 to 1960, the black population nearly doubled its proportion of the total, rising from 12.2% to 21.6%. At the same time, a variety of forces imposed residential segregation on African Americans in a process that had begun decades before, holding the dissimilarity index at between 89.0 and 91.2, a level considered "hyper-segregation."

After 1960, segregation diminished modestly in the City of Cincinnati dropping steadily from 83.1 in 1970 to 68.0 in 2000. The 2000 dissimilarity index is at the low end of "highly segregated" range, but is still significantly improved over the past. As segregation declined, the black percentage of the city's population also increased from 27.6% in 1970 to 42.9% in 2000. If the rates of increase of black population and the rate of decrease in segregation continue, the City of Cincinnati will eventually be largely black with the remaining whites well integrated on a block level in many neighborhoods.

Outside of the city, the suburban Hamilton County population grew continuously from 166,377 in 1940 to 514,018 in 2000. At the same time, it maintained a relatively low black population proportionally, going from 5.2% in 1940 to 10.9% in 2000. However, in absolute numbers, the suburban black population grew more than six-fold, from 8,711 in 1940 to 55,885 in 2000. Much of this increase occurred after 1970. During this time, the suburban white population leveled off at around 450,000 from 1970 to 1990 and then declined to 440,995 in 2000. In the suburbs as in the city, segregation decreased moderately between 1980 and 2000 from 82.4 to 74.0, still in the high range. Nevertheless, in 2000, only a little more than one-quarter of Hamilton County's black population lived in the suburbs while nearly three-quarters lived in the City of Cincinnati. This suburban percentage, however, is double the 1970 rate of only 13.9%. Prior to 1970, the proportion of the county's black population that lived in suburban areas had fluctuated between about 12% and 14%.

Integrated Communities

Because of the availability of data, we looked particularly closely at racial change in Hamilton County's neighborhoods and communities in the period from 1970 to 2000. During that period, forty neighborhoods (Table 2, Table 6) met our criteria for block level racial integration for at least one census – between 10% and 60% black and with an Index of Dissimilarity at or below 65.

Of these, only three neighborhoods were integrated at all four censuses, all of them in the City of Cincinnati: the Central Business District-Riverfront, Corryville, and Madisonville. The Village of Addyston was integrated from 1970 to 1990, but its black population fell to 8% at the 2000 Census. Nevertheless, we found greater continuity and greater numbers of racially integrated neighborhoods as we approached the present.

In 1970, only nine neighborhoods were integrated, the four noted above, plus Kennedy Heights, and four neighborhoods in transition from largely white to largely black. At the 1980 Census, sixteen neighborhoods were integrated, including thirteen Cincinnati neighborhoods and three suburban communities among them, for the first time, the City of Forest Park, now the largest integrated community in the county. All sixteen of these remained racially integrated in 1990, with ten additional neighborhoods racially integrated for a total of twenty-six. Of these, eight were suburban communities and eighteen were Cincinnati neighborhoods.

At the 2000 Census, thirty-two neighborhoods were integrated, including twenty-three of those from 1990. Cincinnati contained four of these newly integrated neighborhoods while suburban Hamilton County contained five. Only Addyston, Golf Manor, and Roselawn, of those that were integrated in 1990, ceased being so. As noted above, Addyston lost black population, but Golf Manor and Roselawn became increasingly black going from 39% and 55% black, respectively, to 63% and 77% black.

Thus, forty neighborhoods fit our criteria for integration for at least one census from 1970 to 2000. Of these, only five saw declining percentage of blacks in that period. All the rest of the communities saw increasing black percentages and most achieved integration through a combination of these increases and declining dissimilarity index scores.

Trends in Racial Stability

We found fourteen neighborhoods that were racially integrated from 1980 to 2000 (Table 3). Thirteen of them fit the criteria for racial integration that we defined at the inception of this study. However, we discovered that Kennedy Heights also clearly maintained stable racial integration even though its black population exceeded 60% after 1970. From 1980 to 2000, it remained at a steady 75% black and a steady moderate dissimilarity index of about 50. Moreover, it is a neighborhood where numbers of residents have consciously sought to maintain racial diversity and block level integration, a factor that appears to have a positive impact on integration. For those reasons, we included it in our group of stable racially integrated neighborhoods.

Indeed, Kennedy Heights was one of five, including also Corryville, East Walnut Hills, Heights, Madisonville, and North Avondale-Paddock Hills, which had essentially stable ratios of black to white population combined with declining or stable dissimilarity indexes (Table 3). Two others of the group showed modest stability. Fairview-Clifton

Heights showed a 10 point increase in black population percentage, most of which, seven points, occurred between 1990 and 2000. This increase was accompanied by a modest decrease in segregation, five points, almost all of which occurred in the 1990s.

University Heights showed modest gains in both percentage of black population, six points over two decades, and segregation, four points over two decades. However, after a five-point drop in its dissimilarity index in the 1980s, it resegregated somewhat with a gain of nine points in the 1990s.

The remaining seven of these fourteen neighborhoods showed significantly less stability. All of them had increases in black population ranging from twenty point increases in Pleasant Ridge and the Central Business District to increases of thirty-five and thirty points, respectively in Winton Place and Mt. Airy. With a dissimilarity index of 21, Winton Place was among the most integrated neighborhoods in the county and had the lowest dissimilarity index in this group of fourteen. This may be indicative of racial mixing as the neighborhood changes from predominately white to predominately black or it could reflect more stable integration if the increase in black population slows as some observers of the neighborhood believe may be happening.

Changing Factors in Racial Stability

We also examined whether neighborhoods with increasing black populations inevitably became largely black and whether such trends changed over time. This study shows that a neighborhood exceeding 10% black before 1970 was very likely to exceed 50% black within two decades (Figure 3, Table 7). After 1970, few neighborhoods that exceeded 10% black exceeded 50% black within one or two decades (Figure 3, Table 8). Of the thirteen neighborhoods that first attained greater than 10% black in 1950 or 1960, nine increased to greater than 50% black within a decade and eleven did so within two decades. The trend slowed at the 1970 Census as only four of the eight that reached 10% black at that census exceeded 50% black within one decade and only six did so after two decades. The trend slowed further as only two of the twenty-three that exceeded 10% black at the 1980 or 1990 Censuses exceeded 50% black at the next census. Moreover, only three of the eleven that reached 10% black in 1980 had exceeded 50% black two decades later in 2000.

Dissimilarity indexes also tended to reflect a greater likelihood of blacks and whites living on the same blocks after about 1970. Neighborhoods that reached 10% or higher black population for the first time in 1950 and 1960 had an average dissimilarity index of 62 in 1970 and thereafter declined to an average of 52 in 2000. Those that reached 10% black in 1980 or after had a greater average range of dissimilarity indexes with a high of 69 in 1970 dropping to 44 by 2000. Neighborhoods that reached 10% black in 1970 were more like those that reached 10% black in 1980 and after than those that reached that threshold earlier. The average dissimilarity indexes for these neighborhoods dropped from a high of 66 in 1970 to a low of 35 in 2000.

Several neighborhoods illustrate these trends. Of the neighborhoods reaching 10% or more black for the first time in 1950 or 1960, Avondale exhibited one of the most dramatic examples of rapid racial change in Hamilton County and was emblematic of

racial change occurring in the City of Cincinnati in that period.⁹ In 1940, Avondale had a modest black population of 8%. By 1950, the black population had increased to 14%, to 69% in 1960, and to 91% in 1970 where it remained through the 2000 Census. It showed virtually no change in its dissimilarity index, maintaining a moderate level of segregation at about 50 from 1970 to 2000.

Similarly, Evanston went from 8% black in 1950, to 75% in 1960, to 95% in 1970. Its dissimilarity index reached a peak of 74 in 1980 and then dropped to about 70 in 1990 and 2000.

In contrast, North Avondale - Paddock Hills, had a very small black population of between 2% and 3% from 1940 to 1960. In 1970, it jumped to 38% black. From 1980 to 2000, its black population stabilized at between 52% and 55%, while its dissimilarity index dropped from a high of 69 in 1970 to 57 in 2000.

East Walnut Hills also represents the transition that appeared at the 1970 Census. It jumped from 5% black in 1960 to 32% black in 1970 and then stayed at that level through 2000. It had a high dissimilarity index of 69 in 1970, but dropped to 51 in 2000.

Of the neighborhoods that exceeded 10% black at the 1980 Census or after, only four became majority black by the 2000 Census. Clifton and Forest Park both illustrate the deceleration of increases in black population in this group. Forest Park rapidly increased in black population from 3% in 1970 to 30% black in 1980. At the 1990 Census it had gained only fourteen more points to reach 44% and over the next decade only twelve more point to reach 56% black in 2000. It maintained a low dissimilarity index of between 30 and 35 through the period from 1970 to 2000. For its part, Clifton exceeded 10% black for the first time when it attained 12% black in 1980. In 2000, its black population had increased modestly to 15% of the total. At the same time, its dissimilarity index dropped from a high of 69 in 1980 to 49 in 2000.

These data suggest two important and related reasons why racial change may have slowed in Hamilton County neighborhoods:

- an increasing number of whites in Hamilton County may have felt comfortable with a significant number of black neighbors after 1970; and
- the greater number of neighborhoods open to blacks since 1970 spread the black demand for housing more widely.

Despite this slowing in racial change, racial integration at the block level in communities in Hamilton County was achieved between 1970 and 2000 primarily by the movement of blacks into formerly largely white communities, rather than by integrative reshuffling of populations in previously mixed, but segregated, neighborhoods or through an increase in whites in largely black neighborhoods.

Race, Residence, and Socioeconomic Status

To better understand changes in Hamilton County neighborhoods and to determine if the socioeconomic status of their residents had an impact on their racial diversity, we adapted

⁹ See Casey-Leininger, 1993, for a discussion of racial change in Avondale from 1925 through 1970 and an exploration of its causes.

methodology used by Michael Maloney and others in their *Social Areas of Cincinnati* volumes. This methodology measured five individual indexes related to socioeconomic well-being (median family income, education of adults, persons per room in private housing, occupation, and family structure). From this, we calculated an overall Socioeconomic Status Index with the community with the lowest socioeconomic status at 1 and the highest at 100.¹⁰

This study found the average SES Index remained virtually unchanged between 1980 and 2000 for the forty communities that met our integration criteria for at least one census between 1970 and 2000 (Table 5). However, of the thirty-six of these communities defined by the Census Bureau at the 1980 Census,¹¹ twenty-one saw declines, while only fifteen saw increases. This occurred while the average percentage of blacks in these communities rose from 18% in 1970 to 40% in 2000 and the average dissimilarity index fell from 65 in 1970 to 43 in 2000 (Table 6). In other words, despite significant increases in black population, which because of the generally lower socioeconomic status of the black population might lead observers to predict declining SES indexes, increases in the SES indexes of some communities largely balanced decreases in others.

For the fourteen most stably integrated neighborhoods, the average SES index remained virtually unchanged between 1980 and 2000 (Table 4), while the average percentage of blacks in these communities increased from 20% in 1970 to 45% in 2000, and the average dissimilarity index decreased from 62 to 42 (Table 3). The seven of these fourteen communities that showed increases in their SES Index between 1980 and 2000 also had declines in their dissimilarity index suggesting that an improving SES Index may contribute to declines in segregation.

The average dissimilarity index at the 2000 Census was virtually the same for both the group of forty communities and the group of fourteen communities. However, the fourteen communities had a somewhat higher average SES Index than the larger group. This suggests that a higher average SES Index may also be associated with the stability of racial integration over time.

When we looked at the three neighborhoods that were integrated at every census from 1970 to 2000, we found that only Corryville posted a decline in its SES Index, but that drop was quite modest at 3.4 points. Madisonville, which has been a majority black neighborhood since 1980, posted a modest gain of 9.7 in its SES Index, and the CBD-Riverfront posted a gain of 10 in its SES Index. This too suggests that there may be a connection between stable or increasing SES scores and stable integration.

¹⁰ Michael E. Maloney and Christopher Auffrey, *The Social Areas of Cincinnati : An Analysis of Social Needs : Patterns for Four Census Decades*, 4th ed. (Cincinnati, Ohio: University of Cincinnati UC Institute for Community Partnerships, 2004); Michael E. Maloney et al., *The Social Areas of Cincinnati : An Analysis of Social Needs : Patterns for Three Census Decades, 1970-1990*, 3rd ed. (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1997) ; Michael E. Maloney and Cincinnati Human Relations Commission., *The Social Areas of Cincinnati : An Analysis of Social Needs ; a Time Series Analysis : 1970-1980*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, 1985); Michael E. Maloney and Cincinnati Human Relations Commission., *The Social Areas of Cincinnati; Towards an Analysis of Social Needs* (Cincinnati: 1974).

¹¹ Four communities defined by the Census Bureau as Census Designated Places at the 1990 and 2000 Censuses were not defined at the 1980 Census. For more on this see Terms and Methodology.

Integration and Socioeconomic Status by Race

To further examine the relationship between SES scores and integration, we calculated statistical correlations between several individual SES indicators and the dissimilarity index for 2000, the only census for which we had data by race on all the components of the SES Index. We did this for:

- all Hamilton County neighborhoods;
- the forty neighborhoods integrated for at least one census from 1970 to 2000; and
- the fourteen most stably integrated communities.

We found no significant correlations between most of these indicators and the dissimilarity index for all three groups of communities. However, for all Hamilton County neighborhoods and the group of forty integrated neighborhoods, we found:

- the smaller the difference between white and black SES Indexes, the lower the dissimilarity index; and
- the smaller the difference between white and black median family incomes, the lower the dissimilarity index.

Both of these proved true regardless of the percentage of black residents in the neighborhood. (See Table 9 for dissimilarity indexes and Table 10 for SES Indexes by race for all Hamilton County communities. For the forty integrated communities, see Table 5 for SES Indexes by race and Table 6 for dissimilarity indexes.)

We also found for the forty communities an additional relationship – as white SES went up there also was a modest tendency for segregation to increase.

The indication that smaller differences in socioeconomic status and family income contribute to greater integration was strengthened by the fact that the differences between whites and blacks on the SES Index and in median family income were smaller for the group of forty communities than for all Hamilton County communities (Table 11). The differences in the SES Index were 19.7 and 27.2 respectively. The differences in the Median Family Income Index were 8.7 and 11.3 respectively.

We found no significant correlation between any of the indicators and the dissimilarity index for the group of fourteen communities. And in contradiction to the conclusions drawn from the examination of all Hamilton County communities and the group of forty communities, we found that blacks and whites in these fourteen communities had essentially the same differences in the SES Index and in the Median Family Income Index as all Hamilton County communities, and thus greater differences than the group of forty communities. However, when we split these fourteen communities into two groups, one with their dissimilarity indexes above 40 and the other with their indexes below 40 in 2000, we found smaller differences by race in the SES and Median Family Income Indexes for the group with the lower dissimilarity indexes. The differences in the SES Index were 23.2 for the lower dissimilarity index group and 30.3 for the group with the higher dissimilarity indexes. For the Median Family Income Index, the differences were 7.4 and 15.8 respectively.

However, of the five most stably integrated neighborhoods in the group of fourteen – the ones with essentially stable ratios of white to black population and with stable or declining dissimilarity indexes (Corryville, East Walnut Hills, Kennedy Heights, Madisonville, and North Avondale-Paddock Hills) – only Corryville fell into the lower dissimilarity index group. This makes clear the difficulty of understanding fully the complexities of maintaining stable integrated communities.

Conclusions

There is much to celebrate about the increased racial integration in Cincinnati and Hamilton County. Several communities provide stable racial integration and stable or improving socioeconomic conditions. This number is greater than in the past and there is reason to hope that numbers of them can maintain these conditions and that additional neighborhoods may join this category. Particularly heartening is that several neighborhoods that are majority black have maintained or improved their block level integration and maintained or improved their socioeconomic status. These include North Avondale - Paddock Hills, Kennedy Heights, and Madisonville long known for the efforts of their residents to maintain racial diversity. Indeed, strong community councils have long worked in these neighborhoods to maintain them as good places to live for people of any race. This likely helps explain some of the racial and socioeconomic stability of those neighborhoods. The Kennedy Heights story is especially encouraging and significant, as that neighborhood has maintained its moderate block level racial integration and stable socioeconomic status despite reaching 75% black by the 1980 Census. Neighborhoods of this sort were unimaginable in Hamilton County until the last third of the twentieth century.

However, as this report demonstrates, this increased integration has generally resulted from the movement of whites out of some neighborhoods and their replacement by new black residents. Moreover, black residents of integrated communities had lower average socioeconomic status than white residents. This gap between black and white socioeconomic status may contribute to some of those neighborhoods continuing to lose white population.

Although statistical correlations between demographic factors and integration suggest several factors that may affect neighborhood racial stability, close examination of specific neighborhoods or groups of neighborhoods suggests that the factors that result in stable racial integration are complex and that other forces may play as large or perhaps larger roles than specific demographic conditions. Among these forces, as many residents of these neighborhoods know, is the constant effort needed to preserve them as good communities in which to live – witness the concerns raised by residents of the three communities examined in Part Two of this study.

Terms and Methodology

Race

Prior to the 2000 Census, respondents had the opportunity to mark only one racial category plus Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. In 2000, respondents could choose multiple racial categories. Nevertheless, the portion of the population that chose multiple racial categories remained small in Hamilton County so that the categories of “white only” and “black only” were essentially comparable here to the single race categories of white and black used in previous censuses.

Neighborhoods and Communities

For the purposes of this study, we defined 122 Hamilton County neighborhoods and communities (see Table 13):

- 35 cities and villages other than the City of Cincinnati;
- 27 neighborhoods in unincorporated sections of the county defined as Census Designated Places (CDP) by the U.S. Census Bureau at the 1990 and 2000 Censuses;
- 2 townships;
- 10 remainders of townships not included in Census Data Places or incorporated municipalities; and
- 48 neighborhoods in the City of Cincinnati.

In suburban Hamilton County, we followed the Census Bureau’s definitions of these various entities. However, we eliminated four because they had little population:

- parts of three municipalities split by county or township lines:
 - Fairfield City in Hamilton County;
 - Cleves Village in Whitewater Township;
 - Milford City in Hamilton County; and
- part of one CDP - Covedale in Springfield Township.

For the census years before 1990, several of these communities either had not been incorporated as separate municipalities or, if in unincorporated parts of the county, had not been defined by the Census Bureau. Thus at the 1970 Census we only had 95 communities and at the 1980 Census, 100. This meant that in Suburban Hamilton County, Census Designated Places in unincorporated portions of the county defined in the 1990 and 2000 Census had no equivalent in previous census years. Fortunately for our study, few of these CDPs had significant black populations before 1990 and so the inability to study them in prior decades had little effect on our analysis.

In the City of Cincinnati, we started with the 48 Statistical Neighborhoods defined by the Cincinnati Department of Community Development and Planning. We eliminated Queensgate because it had little population in 1980 and 1990. And, we split Westwood,

Cincinnati's largest neighborhood, into Westwood, East and Westwood, West, because of the differing demographics of the two sections. The definitions at the 2000 Census were:

- Westwood, East – Census Tracts 88, 100.01, 100.02, and 101
- Westwood, West – 102.01, 102.02, 109, 209.01, and 209.02.

Measuring Segregation

This study measured levels of racial residential segregation using the dissimilarity index.¹² This index measures the degree of evenness of the distribution of two different populations with respect to each other. A dissimilarity index of 0 means, for example, that all of the blocks in a city have exactly the same mix of populations as does the city as a whole and is thus completely integrated. An index of 100 means that the city is completely segregated – each city block is all one group or the other. Demographers describe 60 and above as very high levels of segregation, values in the range of 40 to 50 as moderate, and levels of 30 and below as low.¹³

The dissimilarity index can be calculated only on two mutually exclusive groups. This study looked at black-white segregation in large part because black-white segregation and its consequences have been and remain major problems for Hamilton County. In addition, there are so few people of other races in the county – 3.2% of the total in 2000 – that they have an impact on the diversity of only a few neighborhoods.

In the calculation of the dissimilarity index, the use of different levels of geography can result in widely different results. For example, the index calculated for a city based on city blocks would likely yield a higher level of segregation than the index calculated using neighborhoods, since the larger size of the neighborhood might disguise segregation at the block level. In other words, a neighborhood might approach the same racial proportion as the city as whole, but consist of blocks that were highly one race or another. We worked with block level data for all our calculations.

For 1980, 1990, and 2000, we calculated dissimilarity indexes from electronic US Census data, and relied, for the 1970 Census on calculations by Steven R. Howe for Wiers' 1984 study as electronic block level race data was unavailable to us for that year. However, Howe calculated his index on whites and non-whites rather than whites and blacks. However, few Hamilton County communities had significant numbers of people of other races, so we believe that the results for 1970 are reasonably consistent with those for later years. We obtained the dissimilarity index for the City of Cincinnati from Massey and Denton.

Integrated Neighborhoods

The problem with defining a neighborhood as integrated solely on its dissimilarity index is that it might have a very small population of the minority race, say perhaps, less than

¹² For a discussion of the dissimilarity index and other measures of segregation generally used as well as tables calculated from these measures see Iceland, et. al, 2002. For an analysis critical of the standard methodologies see Quinn and Pawasarat, 2003.

¹³ John Logan, "Ethnic Diversity Grows, Neighborhood Segregation Lags Behind," (Albany, N.Y.: Lewis Mumford Center, University at Albany, 2001).

10%. However, that population could be evenly scattered around the neighborhood, a situation that would result in a low dissimilarity index indicating a high degree of integration, but with few people of the minority race. At the same time, another neighborhood might have high numbers of the minority race scattered evenly throughout and thus have a low dissimilarity index. In this situation, if we look at the individual neighborhoods, they appear integrated, but if we look at all neighborhoods together, we find high concentrations of the minority in some neighborhoods and low concentrations in others resulting in a racially segregated community.

Because of this, when we defined integration, we went beyond the use of the dissimilarity index to examine whether a neighborhood contained significant numbers of both blacks and whites. For this study, we chose to define integrated neighborhoods as those with a dissimilarity index of 65 or less and a black population between 10% and 60%. We chose these figures since they are similar to those used by Brandon Wiers in his 1984 study, "Hamilton County Housing Trends," for which this study may be seen as a sequel.¹⁴ Wiers used 10% to 50% black, but we discovered several neighborhoods with moderate stable dissimilarity indexes and stable black populations above 50%. Moreover, these neighborhoods included several where residents of both races had long worked to keep them racially integrated. This suggests that at least for some whites, acceptable ratios of black to white may be higher than in the past.

Although we sought to solve some of the problem of how to define integration, we recognize that our criteria for racial integration has limitations. Not the least of these is that it excludes neighborhoods like Kennedy Heights that have a larger percentage of blacks than our upper limit of 60%, but that are in fact stably racially integrated at the block level. Moreover, it privileges as integrated those neighborhoods between about 40% and 90% white, but not neighborhoods between 60% and 90% black.

However, the definition we chose has some merit in that it is a rough representation of the range of black/white ratios that many whites will tolerate in racially mixed neighborhoods. This is clearly an important factor in our study as most racially integrated neighborhoods developed in Hamilton County as whites moved out and blacks moved in. Indeed, at the inception of this study, we expected to find little stable integration in neighborhoods with black populations above 50% of the total. The fact that five of our fourteen most racially stable neighborhoods have black populations between 50% and 60% in 2000 is gratifying, as is the fact that since 1970 the rapidity of racial turnover has slowed considerably in racially mixed neighborhoods.

Socioeconomic Status Index

Following Michael Maloney and Christopher Auffrey,¹⁵ we calculated values for the following socioeconomic indicators:

- median family income (2000 Census, Summary File 3, Table P76, P77);
- education – the percentage of those 25 years or older with a high school diploma or higher (SF3, Table P37);

¹⁴ Wiers, 1984.

¹⁵ Michael E. Maloney et al., 1974, 1985, 1997; Michael E. Maloney and Christopher Auffrey, 2004.

- family structure – the percentage of children in two parent families) (SF3, Table P10);
- occupation – the percentage of workers in skilled jobs (SF3, Table P50); and
- dwelling unit occupancy – the percentage of occupied dwelling units with 1 person per room or less (SF3, Table H20).

Our methodology departed from Maloney's, however, in how we calculated a combined Socioeconomic Status (SES) Index from the individual indicators. For each indicator, Maloney simply ranked the 48 Cincinnati neighborhoods from 1 to 48. He then took the average of the five rankings for each neighborhood as his SES Index without further ranking or scaling. This methodology has the advantage of simplicity in calculation and explanation, but makes it difficult to compare the relative SES scores of a neighborhood from one census to another. For example, the top ranked neighborhood in 1990 might have an SES of 45, but the same top ranked neighborhood in 2000 might have an SES of 40 suggesting a fall in SES over the course of the decade when, in fact, that neighborhood had remained as the highest ranked neighborhood in both years. Maloney's ranking system also could not account for changes in the number of defined communities from decade to decade, a situation faced by this study.

In our study, we ranked each community for each indicator from lowest to highest on a scale from 1 to 100. We distributed the remaining communities on the scale proportionately to where the value of their indicator fell between those of the highest and lowest ranked neighborhoods. We then calculated the average of these five indicators for each community and rescaled the results as we had each individual indicator on a scale of 1 to 100. This index provides a measure of the relative position of communities to each other in socioeconomic status rather than an absolute measure. This also provides a measure that is comparable from decade to decade regardless of the number of neighborhoods examined, provided, as was true for this study, that the top- and bottom-ranked communities existed in each census year examined.

Following the methodology described in Fox and Levin, 1997, we calculated statistical correlations between the dissimilarity index and several socioeconomic indicators for all Hamilton County communities, the forty communities integrated for at least one census from 1970 to 2000, and our group of fourteen stable integrated communities. For all of these correlations, we controlled for the percentage of the black population to rule out the possibility that varying percentages of blacks in a neighborhood might influence integration – for example, that as black population increased beyond a certain point the dissimilarity index might increase or that a large black population might be associated with declining socioeconomic status.¹⁶

Most of the correlations calculated failed to rise above the .05 level of significance which was .312 for the forty communities, and .205 for all communities. However, the four reported above did so. We report below the results of our calculations.

¹⁶ Jack Levin and James Allen Fox, *Elementary Statistics in Social Research*, 7th ed. (New York: Longman, 1997), ch. 10.

For all Hamilton County communities, the correlation between the dissimilarity index and differences in median family income was .386. For differences in SES scores, the correlation was even stronger at .457.

For the group of forty communities, the correlation between SES differences and the dissimilarity index was .364. The correlation between median family incomes and integration was .396. The correlation between white SES and the dissimilarity index (.317) rose just slightly above the .05 level of significance – as white SES went up, so did the segregation.

Figure 1

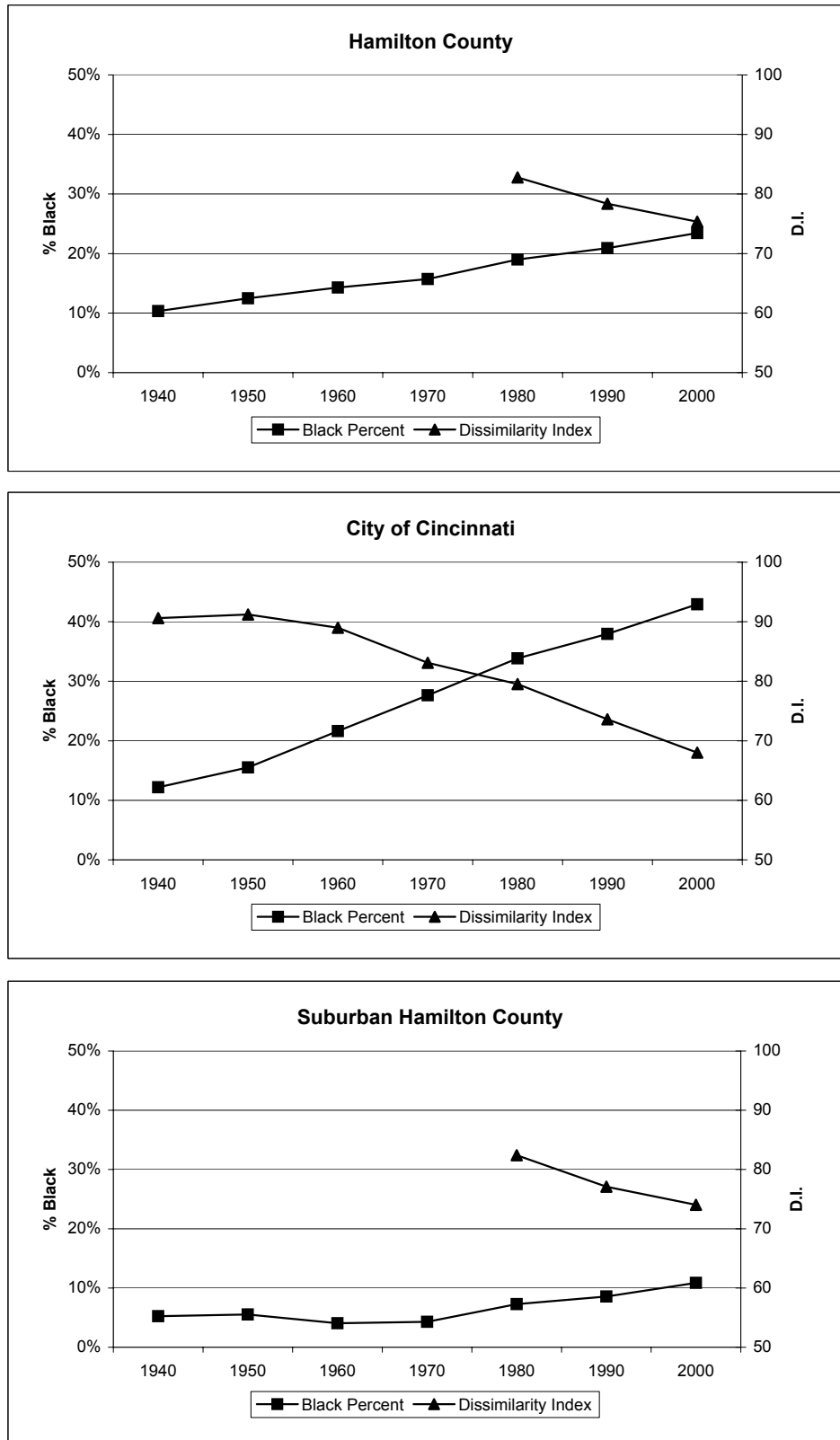


Table 1

Hamilton County by Race, 1940 to 2000									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000; and Massey and Denton <i>Apartheid</i> , 1993 for Cincinnati Dissimilarity Indexes, 1940 to 1970.									
		1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	
Hamilton County									
	Black Percent	10.3%	12.5%	14.3%	15.7%	19.0%	20.9%	23.4%	
	White Percent	89.7%	87.5%	85.6%	83.9%	80.1%	77.7%	72.9%	
	Dissimilarity Index					82.8	78.4	75.3	
	Total	621,987	723,952	864,121	924,018	873,224	866,228	845,303	
	Black Population	64,304	90,336	123,440	145,294	165,994	181,145	198,061	
	White Population	557,622	633,302	739,467	775,663	699,409	672,972	616,487	
City of Cincinnati									
	Black Percent	12.2%	15.5%	21.6%	27.6%	33.8%	37.9%	42.9%	
	White Percent	87.8%	84.4%	78.2%	71.9%	65.2%	60.5%	53.0%	
	Dissimilarity Index	90.6	91.2	89.0	83.1	79.5	73.6	68.0	
	Total	455,610	503,998	502,550	452,524	385,457	364,040	331,285	
	Black Population	55,593	78,196	108,757	125,070	130,467	138,132	142,176	
	White Population	399,853	425,313	392,865	325,394	251,144	220,285	175,492	
	Percentage of County's Black Pop	86.5%	86.6%	88.1%	86.1%	78.6%	76.3%	71.8%	
Suburban Hamilton County									
	Black Percent	5.2%	5.5%	4.1%	4.3%	7.3%	8.6%	10.9%	
	White Percent	94.8%	94.6%	95.9%	95.5%	91.9%	90.1%	85.8%	
	Dissimilarity Index					82.4	77.1	74.0	
	Total	166,377	219,954	361,571	471,494	487,767	502,188	514,018	
	Black Population	8,711	12,140	14,683	20,224	35,527	43,013	55,885	
	White Population	157,769	207,989	346,602	450,269	448,265	452,687	440,995	
	Percentage of County's Black Pop	13.5%	13.4%	11.9%	13.9%	21.4%	23.7%	28.2%	

Integrated Hamilton County Communities, 1970 to 2000				
Criteria: Neighborhoods Between 10% and 60% Black and Dissimilarity Index of 65 or Less in 1970 or 1980 or 1990 or 2000				
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000				
Community	Met Criteria			
	1970	1980	1990	2000
City of Cincinnati				
Bond Hill	x			
Camp Washington			x	x
Central Business District - Riverfront	x	x	x	x
Clifton			x	x
College Hill		x	x	x
Corryville	x	x	x	x
East End				x
East Price Hill				x
East Walnut Hills		x	x	x
Evanston - East Walnut Hills				x
Fairview - Clifton Heights		x	x	x
Fay Apartments	x			
Hartwell			x	x
Kennedy Heights	x			
Lower Price Hill				x
Madisonville	x	x	x	x
Mt. Airy		x	x	x
North Avondale - Paddock Hills		x	x	x
North Fairmount - English Woods	x			
Northside		x	x	x
Over the Rhine	x			
Pleasant Ridge		x	x	x
Roselawn		x	x	
South Fairmount			x	x
University Heights		x	x	x
Westwood, East			x	x
Winton Place		x	x	x
Suburban Hamilton County				
Addyston village	x	x	x	
Finneytown CDP*			x	x
Forest Park city		x	x	x
Glendale village				x
Golf Manor village		x	x	
Mount Healthy city			x	x
Mount Healthy Heights CDP*			x	x
North College Hill city				x
Northbrook CDP*				x
Northgate CDP*				x
Pleasant Run Farm CDP*			x	x
Silverton city				x
Springdale city			x	x
Met Criteria	9	16	26	32
* Not defined in the 1970 or 1980 census				

Table 3

Stable Integrated Hamilton County Communities by Race, 1970 to 2000								
Criteria: Neighborhoods Between 10% and 60% Black and Dissimilarity Index of 65 or Less in 1980 and 1990 and 2000								
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000								
	1970			1980				
	Persons	White Persons	Black Persons	Dissimilarity Index	White Pcnt	Black Pcnt		
Community	Central Business District - Riverfront	3,472	2,939	473	85%	14%	58	55
	College Hill	19,502	17,209	2,184	88%	11%	74	63
	Corryville	6,089	2,652	3,362	44%	55%	59	51
	East Walnut Hills	5,416	3,631	1,738	67%	32%	69	65
	Fairview - Clifton Heights	11,887	11,030	759	93%	6%	50	39
	Kennedy Heights*	6,789	2,812	3,946	41%	58%	51	51
	Madisonville	17,697	10,811	6,837	61%	39%	55	51
	Mt. Airy	5,183	5,164	8	100%	0%	43	47
	North Avondale - Paddock Hills	7,420	4,603	2,790	62%	38%	69	56
	Northside	12,301	11,758	493	96%	4%	76	59
	Pleasant Ridge	11,492	10,965	507	95%	4%	67	44
	University Heights	11,529	10,317	1,069	89%	9%	62	31
	Winton Place	3,163	3,128	32	99%	1%	76	38
	Forest Park city	15,139	14,668	420	97%	3%	59	35
	Unweighted Averages of 14 Communities				80%	20%	62	49
Total - 14 Communities		137,079	111,687	24,618	81%	18%	126,408	30%
	1990			2000				
	Persons	White Persons	Black Persons	Dissimilarity Index	White Pcnt	Black Pcnt		
Community	Central Business District - Riverfront	3,838	2,365	1,396	62%	36%	51	50.5
	College Hill	15,785	9,201	6,466	58%	41%	53	42.5
	Corryville	4,439	2,042	2,238	46%	50%	39	37.6
	East Walnut Hills	3,741	2,438	1,245	65%	33%	60	51.4
	Fairview - Clifton Heights	7,727	6,430	946	83%	12%	37	33.6
	Kennedy Heights*	6,054	1,412	4,607	23%	76%	50	33.6
	Madisonville	12,216	4,799	7,284	39%	60%	49	49.5
	Mt. Airy	9,404	6,354	2,853	68%	30%	58	43.3
	North Avondale - Paddock Hills	6,461	2,764	3,577	43%	55%	58	51.8
	Northside	10,527	8,290	2,166	79%	21%	40	57.4
	Pleasant Ridge	9,730	7,150	2,437	73%	25%	38	35.7
	University Heights	9,807	7,590	1,264	77%	13%	26	40.8
	Winton Place	2,612	1,939	612	74%	23%	38	34.9
	Forest Park city	18,609	10,114	8,134	54%	44%	35	21.4
	Unweighted Averages of 14 Communities				60%	37%	45	34.0
Total - 14 Communities		120,950	72,888	45,225	60%	37%	114,143	42
*See text for the criteria for the inclusion of Kennedy Heights in this table.								

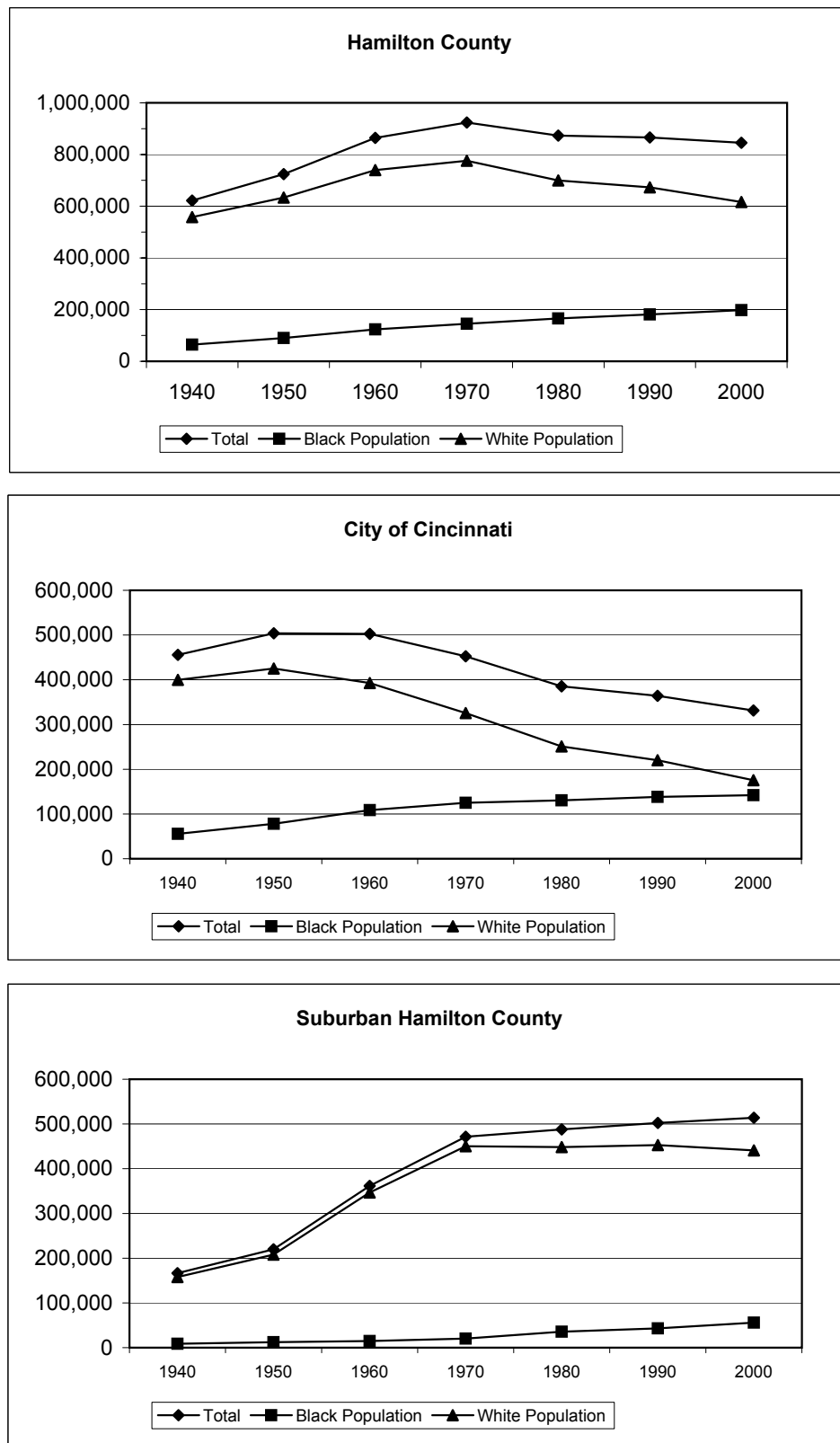


Table 4

Stable Integrated Hamilton County Communities by Socio-Economic Status Index, 1980 to 2000									
Criteria: Neighborhoods Between 10% and 60% Black and Dissimilarity Index of 65 or Less in 1980 and 1990 and 2000									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1980, 1990, 2000									
Community	1980 SES Index	1990 SES Index	2000 SES Index	White SES Index	Black SES Index	MFI Index**	White MFI Index	Black MFI Index	
Central Business District - Riverfront	48.0	63.6	58.6	63.5	28.4	25.9	18.1		
College Hill	55.8	58.2	52.8	70.4	41.7	23.8	32.3		
Corryville	38.2	37.7	34.8	43.3	26.6	10.6	10.8		
East Walnut Hills	54.3	57.8	68.5	86.9	36.4	37.3	51.9		
Fairview - Clifton Heights	46.0	53.3	44.7	59.7	21.7	13.6	22.5		
Kennedy Heights	49.4	50.4	53.8	75.6	45.4	24.1	28.3		
Madisonville	38.0	40.6	47.7	58.6	41.6	17.2	19.6		
Mt. Airy	59.5	50.2	42.2	58.4	27.7	17.7	28.1		
North Avondale - Paddock Hills	60.1	62.9	59.4	75.6	50.5	29.5	45.0		
Northside	32.0	36.9	36.6	44.6	24.6	15.2	17.4		
Pleasant Ridge	56.7	56.8	59.3	51.8	26.7	26.1	32.6		
University Heights	57.2	52.5	49.4	56.0	30.8	14.3	18.2		
Winton Place	35.2	43.0	37.1	51.1	26.2	17.4	22.6		
Forest Park city	64.7	62.8	56.8	66.4	52.3	28.0	28.4		
Unweighted Averages of 14 Communities	49.7	51.9	50.1	61.6	34.3	21.5	26.8		
*MFI=Median Family Income									

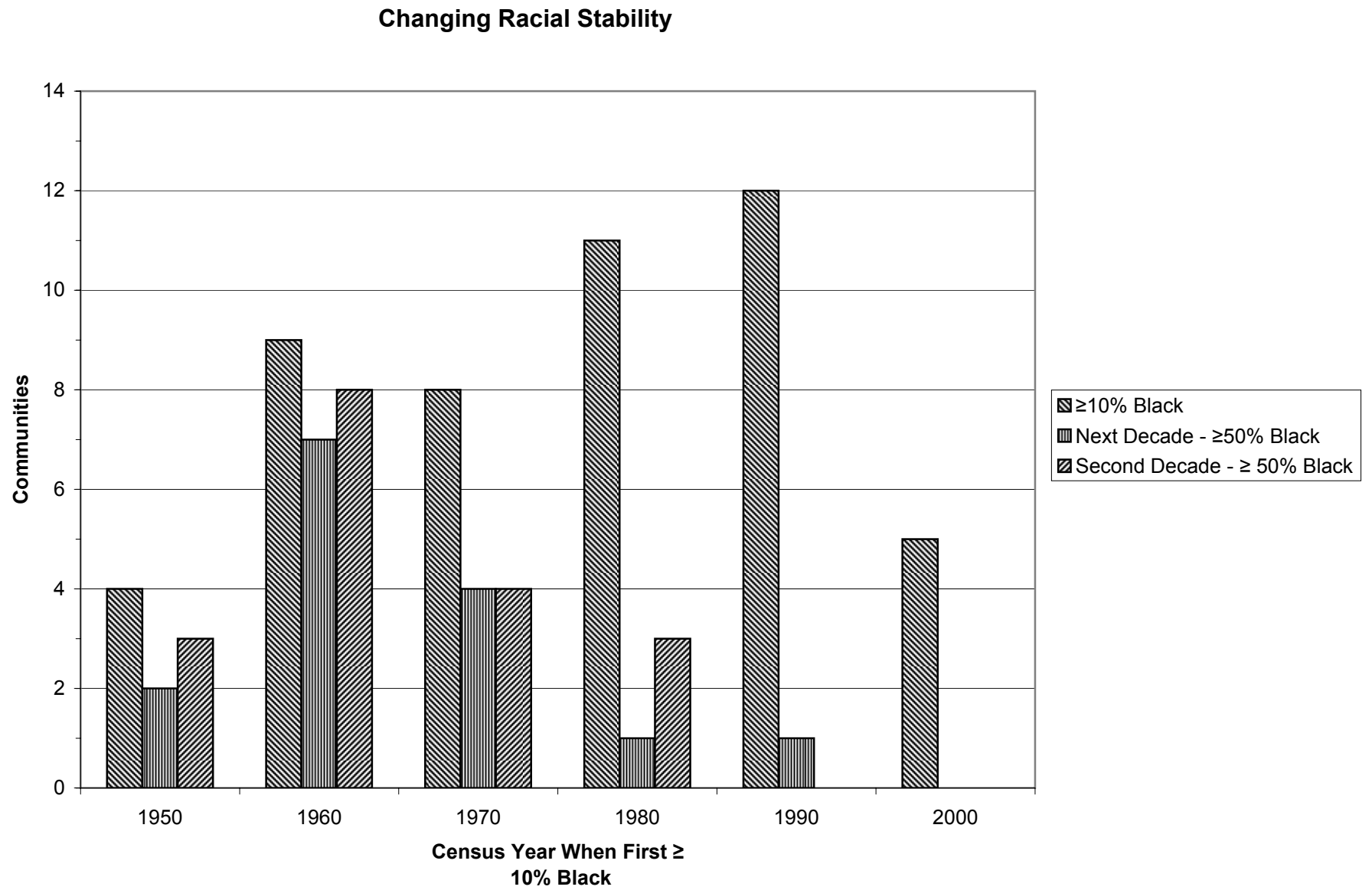
Table 5

Integrated Hamilton County Communities, 1980 to 2000											
Criteria: Neighborhoods Between 10% and 60% Black and Dissimilarity Index of 65 or Less in 1970 or 1980 or 1990 or 2000											
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000											
Community	1980		1990		2000		White SES Index	Black SES Index	MFI Index**	White MFI Index	Black MFI Index
	SES Index	SES Index	SES Index	SES Index	SES Index	SES Index					
City of Cincinnati											
	Bond Hill	40.1	38.7	34.9				33.2	14.6	17.2	14.5
	Camp Washington	5.4	12.6	18.0			22.5		10.6	12.0	4.5
	Central Business District - Riverfront	48.0	63.6	58.6			63.5	28.4		25.9	18.1
	Clifton	69.0	73.4	68.9			78.6	31.3	33.6	39.9	16.2
	College Hill	55.8	58.2	52.8			70.4	41.7	23.8	32.3	19.8
	Corryville	38.2	37.7	34.8			43.3	26.6	10.6	10.8	10.8
	East End	19.0	15.1	32.7			34.0		16.0	16.9	18.5
	East Price Hill	37.1	31.2	30.4			35.5	26.3	14.3	17.2	7.3
	East Walnut Hills	54.3	57.8	68.5			86.9	36.4	37.3	51.9	9.0
	Evanston - East Walnut Hills	34.5	44.3	48.9			87.4	30.2	18.5	63.8	12.6
	Fairview - Clifton Heights	46.0	53.3	44.7			59.7	21.7	13.6	22.5	3.3
	Fay Apartments	19.3	10.5	11.2				10.5	1.0	-2.9	0.9
	Hartwell	54.6	52.6	54.4			58.3	35.3	25.9	26.7	15.4
	Kennedy Heights	49.4	50.4	53.8			75.6	45.4	24.1	28.3	18.9
	Lower Price Hill	13.4	1.0	1.0			5.5		4.5	2.9	2.2
	Madisonville	38.0	40.6	47.7			58.6	41.6	17.2	19.6	15.7
	Mt. Airy	59.5	50.2	42.2			58.4	27.7	17.7	28.1	9.3
	North Avondale - Paddock Hills	60.1	62.9	59.4			75.6	50.5	29.5	45.0	23.0
	North Fairmount - English Woods	10.8	6.7	13.7			36.3	10.8	3.8	12.0	2.5
	Northside	32.0	36.9	36.6			44.6	24.6	15.2	17.4	13.2
	Over the Rhine	1.0	7.9	9.0			14.2	2.5	2.9	10.7	1.9
	Pleasant Ridge	56.7	56.8	59.3			51.8	26.7	26.1	32.6	17.6
	Roselawn	57.6	50.8	45.1			45.3	46.0	17.8	20.9	19.1
	South Fairmount	27.3	28.0	24.1			30.8	19.2	10.8	12.7	9.6
	University Heights	57.2	52.5	49.4			56.0	30.8	14.3	18.2	10.4
	Westwood, East	52.8	48.3	37.6			52.1	25.6	14.1	17.8	9.8
	Winton Place	35.2	43.0	37.1			51.1	26.2	17.4	22.6	9.7
Suburban Hamilton County											
	Addyston village	26.1	28.7	28.4			26.3		15.9	15.2	22.8
	Finneytown CDP*		65.5	63.6			70.4	46.4	29.6	32.9	21.2
	Forest Park city	64.7	62.8	56.8			66.4	52.3	28.0	28.4	28.1
	Glendale village	71.5	72.4	76.6			81.1		44.7	54.8	38.5
	Golf Manor village	52.4	56.3	51.7			66.4	44.7	23.2	22.0	23.0
	Mount Healthy city	52.6	52.2	48.6			55.4	35.8	19.9	22.0	18.2
	Mount Healthy Heights CDP*		51.0	54.8			59.0	48.1	24.7	23.1	28.0
	North College Hill city	53.2	52.3	49.2			54.8	36.0	21.9	24.3	15.5
	Northbrook CDP*	51.9	48.4	46.7			46.1	51.3	24.5	24.4	24.4
	Northgate CDP*		57.3	57.1			58.1	48.4	30.6	31.0	25.8
	Pleasant Run Farm CDP*		72.5	66.9			68.8	60.2	33.3	34.4	28.9
	Silverton city	51.3	52.2	52.5			60.1	45.9	21.0	19.8	21.1
	Springdale city	62.1	63.2	58.9			63.9	52.6	27.1	27.4	24.7
Unweighted Average		43.3	45.5	44.7			54.5	34.9	20.1	24.5	15.8
* Not defined in the 1970 or 1980 census											
**MFI = Median Family Income											

Table 6

Integrated Hamilton County Communities, 1970 to 2000									
Criteria: Neighborhoods Between 10% and 60% Black and Dissimilarity Index of 65 or Less in 1970 or 1980 or 1990 or 2000									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000									
Community	1970			1980			1990		
	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
City of Cincinnati									
Bond Hill	12,324	26%	40	11,408	70%	44	10,822	87%	28
Camp Washington	3,117	10%	79	2,198	10%	83	1,763	14%	63
Central Business District - Riverfront	3,472	14%	58	2,528	19%	55	3,838	36%	51
Clifton	10,736	9%	68	9,240	12%	69	8,978	13%	51
College Hill	19,502	11%	74	17,327	34%	63	15,785	41%	53
Corvillie	6,089	55%	59	4,539	52%	51	4,439	50%	39
East End	4,878	15%	76	3,230	13%	80	2,415	11%	78
East Price Hill	22,113	1%	72	20,361	4%	63	19,522	9%	53
East Walnut Hills	5,416	32%	69	4,106	33%	65	3,741	33%	60
Evanston - East Walnut Hills	3,854	74%	70	2,241	68%	63	2,070	62%	61
Fairview - Clifton Heights	11,887	6%	50	7,940	10%	39	7,727	12%	37
Fay Apartments	6,502	33%	58	3,159	91%	58	2,954	94%	64
Hartwell	5,780	8%	83	5,777	10%	69	5,210	14%	50
Kennedy Heights	6,789	58%	51	6,591	75%	51	6,054	76%	50
Lower Price Hill	3,187	0%	78	2,155	1%	89	1,546	3%	64
Madisonville	17,697	39%	55	13,157	56%	51	12,216	60%	49
Mt. Airy	5,183	0%	43	9,453	10%	47	9,404	30%	58
North Avondale - Paddock Hills	7,420	38%	69	6,762	53%	56	6,461	55%	58
North Fairmount - English Woods	7,658	56%	60	5,889	61%	44	5,334	73%	58
Northside	12,301	4%	76	11,884	12%	59	10,527	21%	40
Over the Rhine	16,363	41%	60	11,914	63%	50	9,572	71%	47
Pleasant Ridge	11,492	4%	67	10,181	16%	44	9,730	25%	38
Roselawn	10,781	7%	71	7,379	24%	36	7,218	55%	32
South Fairmount	6,123	2%	53	4,104	6%	42	3,998	17%	33
University Heights	11,529	9%	62	10,526	13%	31	9,807	13%	26
Westwood, East	11,288	1%	88	17,570	8%	48	20,304	29%	37
Winton Place	3,163	1%	76	2,739	12%	38	2,612	23%	38
Suburban Hamilton County									
Addyston village	1,336	18%	37	1,195	13%	52	1,198	11%	37
Finneytown CDP*							13,098	14%	60
Forest Park city	15,139	3%	59	18,675	30%	35	18,609	44%	35
Glendale village	2,690	18%	80	2,368	19%	79	2,445	16%	70
Golf Manor village	5,170	0%	71	4,317	17%	59	4,154	39%	36
Mount Healthy city	7,446	2%	90	7,562	6%	69	7,580	15%	61
Mount Healthy Heights CDP*							3,863	13%	38
North College Hill city	12,363	0%	73	11,114	3%	63	11,002	9%	50
Northbrook CDP*				8,357	7%	38	11,471	9%	30
Northgate CDP*							7,864	7%	52
Pleasant Run Farm CDP*							4,545	11%	25
Silverton city	6,588	35%	77	6,172	45%	76	5,859	48%	73
Springdale city	8,127	0%	65	10,111	8%	54	10,621	14%	43
Unweighted Average		18%	65		27%	56		32%	48
Total	305,503			284,229			306,354		
* Not defined in the 1970 or 1980 census									
							287,857		

Figure 3



Hamilton County Communities by Decade When First Equaled or Exceeded 10% Black, 1940 to 2000														
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000														
Community	1940		1950		1960		1970		1980		1990		2000	
	Percent Black	Percent Black	Percent Black	Percent Black	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
1980														
Clifton	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	9%	65	12%	69	13%	51	15%	49	
Fairview - Clifton Heights	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	50	10%	39	12%	37	19%	34	
Forest Park city						3%	59	30%	35	44%	35	56%	34	
Golf Manor village			0%	0%	0%	0%	71	17%	59	39%	36	63%	27	
Hartwell	5%	6%	7%	8%	8%		83	10%	69	14%	50	21%	37	
Mt. Airy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	43	10%	47	30%	58	46%	52	
Northside	2%	2%	1%	4%	4%		76	12%	59	21%	40	39%	36	
Pleasant Ridge	1%	0%	0%	4%	4%		67	16%	44	25%	38	36%	41	
Roselawn	8%	5%	7%	7%	7%		71	24%	36	55%	32	77%	29	
University Heights	0%	0%	0%	9%	9%		62	13%	31	13%	26	18%	35	
Winton Place	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%		76	12%	38	23%	38	46%	21	
1990														
Arlington Heights village	0%	0%	0%	5%	5%		91	0%		13%	89	4%	62	
Finneytown CDP										14%	60	24%	57	
Mount Healthy city	0%	0%	0%	2%	2%		90	6%	69	15%	61	23%	50	
Mount Healthy Heights CDP										13%	38	23%	46	
Pleasant Run Farm CDP										11%	25	23%	27	
Remainder of Colerain township										12%	89	10%	77	
Remainder of Columbia township										23%	68	35%	71	
Remainder of Springfield township										30%	70	36%	67	
Riverside - Saylor Park	5%	5%	1%	1%	1%		72	6%	79	13%	79	12%	68	
South Fairmount	1%	0%	1%	2%	2%		53	6%	42	17%	33	45%	21	
Springdale city			0%	0%	0%		65	8%	54	14%	43	26%	47	
Westwood, East								8%	48	29%	37	51%	35	
2000														
East Price Hill	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%		72	4%	63	9%	53	22%	40	
Lower Price Hill	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		78	1%	89	3%	64	11%	41	
North College Hill city	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		73	3%	63	9%	50	22%	36	
Northbrook CDP								7%	38	9%	30	14%	27	
Northgate CDP										7%	52	10%	55	
Communities for which the data is missing were not defined by the Census in that year.														

Table 9

Hamilton County Communities by Race , 1980 to 2000									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1980, 1990, 2000									
Community	1980			1990			2000		
	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
City of Cincinnati									
Avondale	19,845	92%	54	18,736	92%	52	16,298	91%	50
Bond Hill	11,408	70%	44	10,822	87%	28	9,682	93%	35
California	636	0%		540	0%	77	475	0%	
Camp Washington	2,198	10%	83	1,763	14%	63	1,506	25%	41
Carthage	2,782	0%		2,496	2%	71	2,412	9%	37
Central Business District - Riverfront	2,528	19%	55	3,838	36%	51	3,189	39%	51
Clifton	9,240	12%	69	8,978	13%	51	8,546	15%	49
College Hill	17,327	34%	63	15,785	41%	53	15,269	56%	42
Corryville	4,539	52%	51	4,439	50%	39	3,830	50%	38
East End	3,230	13%	80	2,415	11%	76	1,692	13%	62
East Price Hill	20,361	4%	64	19,522	9%	53	17,964	22%	40
East Walnut Hills	4,106	33%	65	3,741	33%	60	3,630	33%	51
Evanston	9,689	92%	74	8,386	91%	69	7,928	88%	70
Evanston - East Walnut Hills	2,241	68%	63	2,070	62%	61	1,805	56%	59
Fairview - Clifton Heights	7,940	10%	39	7,727	12%	37	7,366	19%	34
Fay Apartments	3,159	91%	58	2,954	94%	64	2,453	95%	45
Hartwell	5,777	10%	69	5,210	14%	50	4,950	21%	37
Hyde Park	14,955	4%	68	13,927	3%	63	13,640	3%	58
Kennedy Heights	6,591	75%	51	6,054	76%	50	5,296	76%	49
Linwood	1,425	0%	53	1,295	0%	96	1,042	1%	71
Lower Price Hill	2,155	1%	89	1,546	3%	64	1,309	11%	41
Madisonville	13,157	56%	51	12,216	60%	49	10,827	60%	43
Mt. Adams	1,958	4%	52	1,569	3%	46	1,514	2%	53
Mt. Airy	9,453	10%	47	9,404	30%	58	9,710	46%	52
Mt. Auburn	8,889	73%	41	7,542	74%	48	6,516	73%	52
Mt. Lookout	3,533	0%	87	3,349	1%	55	3,236	1%	56
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	3,132	4%	87	3,051	6%	86	3,081	5%	81
Mt. Washington	11,632	0%	49	12,267	3%	53	11,691	4%	39
North Avondale - Paddock Hills	6,762	53%	56	6,461	55%	58	6,212	52%	57
North Fairmount - English Woods	5,889	61%	44	5,334	73%	58	4,510	81%	43
Northside	11,884	12%	59	10,527	21%	40	9,389	39%	36
Oakley	12,801	3%	52	12,351	6%	46	11,244	8%	42
Over the Rhine	11,914	63%	50	9,572	71%	47	7,638	77%	48
Pleasant Ridge	10,181	16%	44	9,730	25%	38	8,872	36%	41
Queensgate	190	62%	19						
Riverside - Saylor Park	1,301	6%	79	1,394	13%	79	1,451	12%	68
Roselawn	7,379	24%	36	7,218	55%	32	6,806	77%	29
Saylor Park	3,384	2%	74	3,516	2%	56	3,233	2%	51
Sedamsville - Riverside	3,007	1%	70	2,639	5%	48	2,223	9%	35
South Cumminsville - Millvale	4,908	92%	24	4,367	94%	28	3,914	94%	20
South Fairmount	4,104	6%	42	3,998	17%	33	3,251	45%	21
University Heights	10,526	13%	31	9,807	13%	26	8,753	18%	35
Walnut Hills	9,907	90%	56	8,917	88%	64	7,790	84%	63
West End	12,886	95%	71	11,370	93%	78	8,115	87%	69
West Price Hill	20,518	0%	85	19,791	2%	66	17,115	7%	55
Westwood, East**	17,570	8%	48	20,304	29%	37	20,668	51%	35
Westwood, West**	16,010	1%	73	15,730	3%	67	15,062	9%	49
Winton Hills	7,711	89%	60	6,747	88%	49	5,204	87%	46
Winton Place	2,739	12%	38	2,612	23%	38	2,337	46%	21
Suburban Hamilton County									
Addyston village	1,195	13%	52	1,198	11%	37	1,010	8%	39
Amberley village	3,442	2%	60	3,108	4%	36	3,425	9%	29
Arlington Heights village	1,082	0%		1,084	13%	89	899	4%	62
Blue Ash city	9,506	5%	76	11,860	4%	75	12,513	5%	71
Bridgetown North CDP	11,460	0%		11,748	0%	75	12,569	0%	62
Cherry Grove CDP				4,972	1%	63	4,555	1%	52
Cheviot city	9,888	0%	89	9,616	1%	88	9,015	1%	59
Cleves village (part)	2,094	0%	83	2,208	0%	85	2,790	1%	59
Covedale CDP (part)	5,830	0%		6,669	0%	79	6,354	0%	74
Crosby township	2,470	0%		2,665	0%		2,748	0%	78
Deer Park city	6,745	0%	81	6,181	1%	84	5,982	2%	66
Delhi township	29,078	0%		30,250	0%	72	30,104	1%	60
Dent CDP (part)				6,416	0%	48	7,612	1%	59
Dillonvale CDP				4,209	1%	78	3,716	2%	58
Dry Run CDP				5,389	0%	44	6,553	1%	38
Elmwood Place village	2,840	1%	67	2,937	4%	55	2,681	5%	50
Evendale village	1,954	2%	34	3,175	5%	16	3,090	7%	24
Fairfax village	2,222	0%	98	2,029	0%	90	1,938	1%	64
Finneytown CDP				13,096	14%	60	13,492	24%	57
Forest Park city	18,675	30%	35	18,609	44%	35	19,463	56%	34
Forestville CDP				9,185	1%	57	10,978	1%	47
Fruit Hill CDP				4,101	0%	36	3,945	1%	47
Glendale village	2,368	19%	79	2,445	16%	70	2,188	14%	59
Golf Manor village	4,317	17%	59	4,154	39%	36	3,999	63%	27
Grandview CDP				1,301	0%		1,391	0%	100

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Hamilton County Communities by Race , 1980 to 2000									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1980, 1990, 2000									
Community	1980			1990			2000		
	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
Greenhills village	4,927	0%	75	4,393	1%	63	4,103	3%	43
Groesbeck CDP	9,594	1%	45	6,684	2%	39	7,202	6%	48
Harrison city	5,855	0%	55	7,518	0%	77	7,487	0%	75
Kenwood CDP				7,469	3%	46	7,423	5%	47
Lincoln Heights village	5,259	99%	77	4,805	99%	68	4,113	98%	76
Lockland village	4,292	22%	84	4,357	25%	79	3,707	26%	76
Loveland city (part)	7,385	2%	80	8,263	2%	70	9,561	2%	57
Loveland Park CDP (part)	215	0%		227	0%		445	2%	46
Mack North CDP				2,816	0%	57	3,529	1%	57
Mack South CDP				5,767	0%	72	5,837	0%	68
Madeira city	9,341	0%	65	9,141	1%	50	8,923	1%	47
Mariemont village	3,295	0%		3,118	0%	97	3,408	1%	81
Monfort Heights East CDP				3,661	5%	48	3,880	6%	34
Monfort Heights South CDP				4,587	2%	69	4,466	1%	65
Montgomery city	10,088	1%		9,753	1%	56	10,163	2%	59
Mount Healthy city	7,562	6%	69	7,580	15%	61	7,149	23%	50
Mount Healthy Heights CDP				3,863	13%	38	3,450	23%	46
Newtown village	1,817	0%		1,589	0%		2,420	2%	38
North Bend village	546	0%		541	2%	82	603	0%	96
North College Hill city	11,114	3%	63	11,002	9%	50	10,082	22%	36
Northbrook CDP	8,357	7%	38	11,471	9%	30	11,076	14%	27
Northgate CDP				7,864	7%	52	8,016	10%	55
Norwood city	26,342	0%	92	23,674	1%	72	21,675	2%	58
Pleasant Run CDP				4,964	5%	23	5,267	8%	25
Pleasant Run Farm CDP				4,545	11%	25	4,731	23%	27
Reading city	12,843	1%	81	12,038	1%	80	11,292	3%	66
Remainder of Anderson township	34,504	0%		7,656	0%	61	8,959	0%	60
Remainder of Colerain township	30,241	10%		9,505	12%	89	11,856	10%	77
Remainder of Columbia township	4,179	26%		4,269	23%	68	4,619	35%	71
Remainder of Green township	24,375	0%		4,600	0%	73	4,973	2%	69
Remainder of Harrison township	3,455	0%		4,627	0%	96	4,982	0%	89
Remainder of Miami township	6,106	0%		6,304	0%	80	7,702	0%	41
Remainder of Springfield township	42,024	18%		20,868	30%	70	19,358	36%	67
Remainder of Sycamore township	20,758	7%		8,396	3%	59	8,536	5%	49
Remainder of Symmes township	-15,112	4%	86	11,542	4%	56	14,326	4%	52
Remainder of Whitewater township	4,662	0%		5,178	0%	71	5,564	0%	65
Sharonville city (part)	10,108	1%	71	11,312	2%	46	11,578	5%	47
Sherwood CDP				3,709	0%	48	3,907	1%	70
Silverton city	6,172	45%	76	5,859	48%	73	5,178	50%	61
Springdale city	10,111	8%	54	10,621	14%	43	10,563	26%	47
St. Bernard city	5,396	4%	69	5,344	4%	56	4,924	6%	51
Terrace Park village	2,044	0%	79	2,133	0%	95	2,273	0%	88
The Village of Indian Hill city	5,521	0%	70	5,383	1%	70	5,907	1%	79
Turpin Hills CDP				4,927	0%	59	4,960	1%	60
White Oak CDP				12,430	1%	50	13,277	4%	54
White Oak East CDP				3,544	0%	72	3,508	1%	57
White Oak West CDP				2,879	0%	27	2,932	1%	40
Woodlawn village	2,715	80%	47	2,674	74%	65	2,816	68%	63
Wyoming city	8,282	10%	86	8,128	11%	71	8,261	10%	67
Missing data means none was available									

Table 10

Hamilton County Communities by Race and Socio-Economic Status, 1980 to 2000								
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1980, 1990, 2000								
	1980	1990	2000	White SES Index	Black SES Index	MFI Index*	White MFI Index	Black MFI Index
Community	SES Index	SES Index	SES Index	Index	Index		Index	Index
City of Cincinnati								
Avondale	25.0	21.7	24.9	27.5	23.4	9.3	4.4	9.2
Bond Hill	40.1	38.7	34.9		33.2	14.6	17.2	14.5
California	45.0	54.4	59.9	59.9		35.6	35.6	
Camp Washington	5.4	12.6	18.0	22.5		10.6	12.0	4.5
Carthage	33.8	36.5	40.6	44.3		17.0	17.6	10.7
Central Business District - Riverfront	48.0	63.6	58.6	63.5	28.4	25.9	18.1	
Clifton	69.0	73.4	68.9	78.6	31.3	33.6	39.9	16.2
College Hill	55.8	58.2	52.8	70.4	41.7	23.8	32.3	19.8
Corryville	38.2	37.7	34.8	43.3	26.6	10.6	10.8	10.8
East End	19.0	15.1	32.7	34.0		16.0	16.9	18.5
East Price Hill	37.1	31.2	30.4	35.5	26.3	14.3	17.2	7.3
East Walnut Hills	54.3	57.8	68.5	86.9	36.4	37.3	51.9	9.0
Evanston	26.9	31.1	30.8	84.9	25.0	13.1	49.7	11.9
Evanston - East Walnut Hills	34.5	44.3	48.9	87.4	30.2	18.5	63.8	12.6
Fairview - Clifton Heights	46.0	53.3	44.7	59.7	21.7	13.6	22.5	3.3
Fay Apartments	19.3	10.5	11.2		10.5	1.0	-2.9	0.9
Hartwell	54.6	52.6	54.4	58.3	35.3	25.9	26.7	15.4
Hyde Park	73.9	78.5	86.7	87.1		54.7	56.5	27.4
Kennedy Heights	49.4	50.4	53.8	75.6	45.4	24.1	28.3	18.9
Linwood	11.3	26.6	24.6	24.0		13.0	13.1	37.1
Lower Price Hill	13.4	1.0	1.0	5.5		4.5	2.9	2.2
Madisonville	38.0	40.6	47.7	58.6	41.6	17.2	19.6	15.7
Mt. Adams	70.9	71.0	87.8	87.9		60.7	60.7	
Mt. Airy	59.5	50.2	42.2	58.4	27.7	17.7	28.1	9.3
Mt. Auburn	21.9	34.3	34.1	65.2	24.1	11.0	24.5	9.6
Mt. Lookout	81.9	89.1	90.3	90.3		60.0	60.3	
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	59.3	69.7	77.9	81.9		44.3	46.5	6.4
Mt. Washington	61.6	61.1	62.4	64.2		25.7	26.5	6.9
North Avondale - Paddock Hills	60.1	62.9	59.4	75.6	50.5	29.5	45.0	23.0
North Fairmount - English Woods	10.8	6.7	13.7	36.3	10.8	3.8	12.0	2.5
Northside	32.0	36.9	36.6	44.6	24.6	15.2	17.4	13.2
Oakley	54.4	59.0	65.1	69.1	33.5	32.0	34.3	10.1
Over the Rhine	1.0	7.9	9.0	14.2	2.5	2.9	10.7	1.9
Pleasant Ridge	56.7	56.8	59.3	51.8	26.7	26.1	32.6	17.6
Queensgate								
Riverside - Saylor Park	52.0	45.8	46.8	51.8		19.0	20.9	4.0
Roselawn	57.6	50.8	45.1	45.3	46.0	17.8	20.9	19.1
Saylor Park	46.8	52.8	50.5	48.1		24.1	13.5	
Sedamsville - Riverside	26.9	22.6	24.7	27.2		16.6	17.4	1.9
South Cumminsville - Millvale	1.8	2.2	13.1		13.7	3.6	4.2	3.8
South Fairmount	27.3	28.0	24.1	30.8	19.2	10.8	12.7	9.6
University Heights	57.2	52.5	49.4	56.0	30.8	14.3	18.2	10.4
Walnut Hills	16.7	29.2	25.5	69.6	18.0	8.0	45.7	7.0
West End	5.8	6.3	17.1	47.7	9.5	3.8	24.2	2.9
West Price Hill	48.7	50.8	50.6	53.5	23.3	21.6	22.2	11.5
Westwood, East**	52.8	48.3	37.6	52.1	25.6	14.1	17.8	9.8
Westwood, West**	57.6	60.2	60.6	62.6	45.0	25.6	27.0	11.4
Winton Hills	6.7	8.1	12.7		9.2	1.1	23.0	0.2
Winton Place	35.2	43.0	37.1	51.1	26.2	17.4	22.6	9.7
Suburban Hamilton County								
Addyston village	26.1	28.7	28.4	26.3		15.9	15.2	22.8
Amberley village	86.8	82.4	82.8	83.2		49.6	48.2	50.9
Arlington Heights village	38.9	34.5	44.7	45.9		22.5	23.3	10.0
Blue Ash city	62.6	72.6	70.1	73.4	39.7	36.1	37.9	17.4
Bridgetown North CDP	57.0	61.5	61.8	62.0		27.7	27.7	12.4
Cherry Grove CDP		70.0	72.1	72.2		35.4	35.4	35.6
Cheviot city	49.7	49.5	54.4	54.4		24.1	24.1	8.0
Cleves village (part)	43.4	44.5	47.8	48.4		25.3	25.3	21.8
Covedale CDP (part)	65.7	68.7	70.8	70.9		33.7	33.8	39.6
Crosby township		50.5	54.4	54.5		27.6	28.0	
Deer Park city	53.4	55.0	54.8	55.6		22.2	22.7	-0.7
Delhi township		63.8	65.0	65.4		31.6	31.6	26.4
Dent CDP (part)		62.2	67.2	67.2		30.5	30.6	39.6
Dillonvale CDP		61.6	60.5	61.3		25.9	25.9	10.9
Dry Run CDP		81.4	86.1	85.8		56.4	56.0	
Elmwood Place village	25.0	20.7	26.5	25.8		14.0	14.2	4.1
Evendale village	74.4	81.1	81.0	80.1		54.7	54.9	54.7
Fairfax village	45.1	49.3	55.2	55.3		23.4	22.9	29.8
Finneytown CDP		65.5	63.6	70.4	46.4	29.6	32.9	21.2
Forest Park city	64.7	62.8	56.8	66.4	52.3	28.0	28.4	28.1
Forestville CDP		74.6	73.6	74.5		39.9	41.0	64.3
Fruit Hill CDP		70.2	70.7	71.5		35.6	36.2	3.7
Glendale village	71.5	72.4	76.6	81.1		44.7	54.8	38.5
Golf Manor village	52.4	56.3	51.7	66.4	44.7	23.2	22.0	23.0

30

*MFI = Median Family Income

Table 11

Hamilton County Communities by Race and Socioeconomic Status, 2000										
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 2000										
Community	Black Only Pcnt	Dissimilarity Index	SES Index	White SES Index	Black SES Index	Racial SES Difference	MFI Index*	White MFI Index	Black MFI Index	Racial MFI Difference
All Communities	23%	75	55.0	61.7	34.5	27.2	27.9	30.7	19.3	11.3
City of Cincinnati	43%	68	39.8	51.8	29.1	22.7	17.1	22.8	11.4	11.4
Suburban Hamilton County	11%	74	54.0	59.4	46.4	13.0	26.0	27.7	23.9	3.8
40 Communities	40%	43	44.7	54.5	34.9	19.7	20.1	24.5	15.8	8.7
14 Communities	45%	42	50.1	61.6	34.3	27.2	21.5	26.8	14.5	12.3
Five most stable	54%	48	52.8	68.0	40.1	27.9	23.8	31.1	15.5	15.7
DI** below 40	38%	33	43.2	53.5	30.3	23.2	16.5	20.0	12.6	7.4
DI above 40	50%	48	55.3	67.6	37.3	30.3	25.2	32.0	16.2	15.8
All figures are unweighted averages of the neighborhoods included in each entity, except Black Only Percent and Dissimilarity Index for All Communities, City of Cincinnati, and Suburban Hamilton County which were calculated for those areas as a whole rather than as the average of their neighborhoods.										
*MFI = Median Family Income										
**DI = Dissimilarity Index										

Table 12

Hamilton County Communities by Race , 1940 to 1970									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970									
	1940		1950		1960		1970		
Community	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
City of Cincinnati									
Avondale	23,615	8%	24,939	14%	28,818	69%	22,699	91%	52
Bond Hill	7,899	0%	9,178	0%	11,672	0%	12,324	26%	40
California	1,023	0%	1,087	0%	1,055	0%	819	0%	98
Camp Washington	8,805	2%	7,890	2%	6,132	5%	3,117	10%	79
Carthage	4,728	0%	4,515	0%	3,975	0%	3,291	0%	88
Central Business District - Riverfront	11,467	7%	12,126	6%	5,953	10%	3,472	14%	58
Clifton	8,340	1%	9,205	1%	9,635	1%	10,736	9%	65
College Hill	8,034	3%	10,492	2%	15,198	2%	19,502	11%	74
Corryville	7,297	1%	7,429	0%	7,482	28%	6,089	55%	59
East End	7,609	12%	7,174	13%	6,911	18%	4,878	15%	76
East Price Hill	22,552	0%	22,436	0%	23,170	0%	22,113	1%	72
East Walnut Hills	5,543	1%	6,018	1%	5,350	5%	5,416	32%	69
Evanston	11,675	1%	12,261	8%	13,740	75%	11,046	95%	57
Evanston - East Walnut Hills	4,115	8%	4,321	8%	4,850	66%	3,854	74%	70
Fairview - Clifton Heights	15,357	0%	15,577	0%	14,801	0%	11,887	6%	50
Fay Apartments	3,114	1%	4,703	1%	4,179	1%	6,502	33%	58
Hartwell	4,315	5%	5,710	6%	5,453	7%	5,780	8%	83
Hyde Park	15,007	1%	16,357	1%	16,104	2%	17,220	3%	74
Kennedy Heights	3,513	3%	4,858	3%	5,603	17%	6,789	58%	51
Linwood	2,441	1%	2,683	1%	2,774	1%	2,524	0%	55
Lower Price Hill	5,274	0%	4,870	0%	4,136	0%	3,187	0%	78
Madisonville	11,294	11%	12,807	19%	17,447	21%	17,697	39%	55
Mt. Adams	7,307	11%	7,437	13%	6,535	16%	3,491	4%	68
Mt. Airy	653	0%	1,125	0%	2,825	0%	5,183	0%	43
Mt. Auburn	11,575	0%	13,753	2%	13,823	10%	11,213	74%	40
Mt. Lookout	4,780	1%	4,881	0%	5,018	0%	4,799	0%	69
Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum	2,442	1%	2,683	1%	2,775	1%	2,524	0%	55
Mt. Washington	2,625	0%	4,293	0%	9,187	0%	12,797	0%	55
North Avondale - Paddock Hills	5,154	3%	6,308	2%	6,631	2%	7,420	38%	69
North Fairmount - English Woods	4,829	1%	6,167	0%	9,287	23%	7,658	56%	60
Northside	14,082	2%	13,539	2%	13,050	1%	12,301	4%	76
Oakley	13,794	1%	15,514	1%	15,052	1%	15,089	1%	59
Over the Rhine	32,012	2%	34,237	3%	30,575	13%	16,363	41%	60
Pleasant Ridge	7,514	1%	9,339	0%	10,633	0%	11,492	4%	67
Queensgate	18,549	86%	19,673	94%	12,641	96%	980	91%	79
Riverside - Saylor Park	2,627	5%	2,990	5%	3,165	1%	3,450	1%	72
Roselawn	4,728	8%	10,089	5%	11,058	7%	10,781	7%	71
Saylor Park	1,588	0%	1,673	0%	1,678	8%	1,435	7%	72
Sedamsville - Riverside	4,234	0%	3,897	0%	3,777	0%	3,922	0%	95
South Cumminsville - Millvale	6,641	7%	6,464	9%	7,866	49%	5,237	74%	81
South Fairmount	7,814	1%	6,715	0%	6,810	1%	6,123	2%	53
University Heights	10,918	0%	12,418	0%	11,803	0%	11,529	9%	62
Walnut Hills	22,824	37%	23,369	40%	20,658	56%	14,053	82%	66
West End	43,814	49%	47,847	74%	29,308	94%	16,088	97%	67
West Price Hill	17,398	0%	18,324	0%	23,170	0%	23,840	0%	68
Westwood, East**	6,264	0%	8,891	2%	10,665	1%	15,918	0%	68
Westwood, West**	4,712	0%	7,595	0%	11,809	0%	16,721	0%	
Winton Hills	593	9%	5,030	0%	4,856	4%	7,273	75%	25
Winton Place	3,122	0%	3,111	0%	3,088	0%	3,163	1%	76
Suburban Hamilton County									
Addyston village	1,610	20%	1,651	21%	1,376	22%	1,336	18%	37
Amberley village			885	0%	2,951	1%	5,574	1%	46
Arlington Heights village	1,222	0%	1,312	0%	1,355	0%	1,476	5%	91
Blue Ash city					8,341	9%	8,324	7%	90
Bridgetown North CDP									
Cherry Grove CDP									
Cheviot city	9,043	0%	9,944	0%	10,701	0%	11,135	0%	84
Cleves village (part)	1,871	3%	1,981	2%	2,076	1%	2,044	1%	0
Covedale CDP (part)									
Crosby township	942	0%	1,021	0%	1,464	0%	1,747	0%	
Deer Park city	3,510	0%	7,241	0%	8,423	0%	7,415	0%	81
Delhi township	4,175	1%	6,347	1%	14,579	0%	25,785	0%	
Dent CDP (part)									
Dillonvale CDP									
Dry Run CDP									
Elmwood Place village	4,248	2%	4,113	3%	3,813	2%	3,525	1%	64
Evendale village					773	0%	1,967	1%	77
Fairfax village					2,430	0%	2,705	0%	90
Finneytown CDP									
Forest Park city							15,139	3%	59
Forestville CDP									
Fruit Hill CDP									
Glendale village	2,359	23%	2,402	18%	2,823	19%	2,690	18%	80

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Hamilton County Communities by Race , 1940 to 1970									
Source: US Census of Population and Housing, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970									
	1940		1950		1960		1970		
Community	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Total	Percent Black	Dissimilarity Index
Golf Manor village			3,603	0%	4,648	0%	5,170	0%	71
Grandview CDP									
Greenhills village	2,677	0%	3,005	0%	5,407	0%	6,092	0%	67
Groesbeck CDP									
Harrison city	1,656	0%	1,943	0%	3,878	0%	4,408	0%	
Kenwood CDP									
Lincoln Heights village			5,531	99%	7,798	100%	6,099	99%	87
Lockland village	5,601	20%	5,736	17%	5,292	18%	5,288	22%	91
Loveland city (part)	1,904	9%	2,149	10%	5,008	5%	7,144	2%	85
Loveland Park CDP (part)									
Mack North CDP									
Mack South CDP									
Madeira city	1,384	1%	2,689	1%	6,744	0%	6,713	0%	73
Mariemont village			3,514	0%	4,120	0%	4,540	1%	82
Monfort Heights East CDP									
Monfort Heights South CDP									
Montgomery city	461	0%	579	0%	3,075	0%	5,683	0%	79
Mount Healthy city	3,997	0%	5,533	0%	6,553	0%	7,446	2%	90
Mount Healthy Heights CDP									
Newtown village	1,146	1%	1,462	0%	1,750	0%	2,047	0%	74
North Bend village	679	0%	711	0%	622	0%	638	0%	
North College Hill city	5,231	0%	7,921	0%	12,035	0%	12,363	0%	73
Northbrook CDP									
Northgate CDP									
Norwood city	34,010	0%	35,001	0%	34,580	0%	30,420	0%	77
Pleasant Run CDP									
Pleasant Run Farm CDP									
Reading city	6,079	0%	7,836	0%	12,832	0%	14,303	0%	71
Remainder of Anderson township	5,546	0%	8,877	0%	15,500	0%	25,887	0%	
Remainder of Colerain township	4,627	0%	7,473	0%	28,632	0%	50,971	1%	
Remainder of Columbia township	10,964	3%	8,702	3%	7,908	6%	7,152	8%	
Remainder of Green township	9,420	1%	17,222	1%	37,290	0%	49,917	0%	
Remainder of Harrison township	779	1%	980	0%	1,647	0%	1,818	0%	
Remainder of Miami township	1,597	5%	2,336	1%	4,258	0%	5,023	0%	
Remainder of Springfield township	10,760	34%	10,436	13%	29,388	5%	41,611	8%	
Remainder of Sycamore township	9,286	12%	13,452	5%	18,402	0%	22,733	1%	
Remainder of Symmes township	1,896	11%	2,042	12%	3,430	7%	3,726	4%	
Remainder of Whitewater township	1,964	1%	2,091	1%	2,883	1%	3,318	1%	
Sharonville city (part)	1,157	1%	1,318	1%	3,890	0%	10,985	0%	81
Sherwood CDP									
Silverton city	2,907	0%	4,827	0%	6,682	0%	6,588	35%	77
Springdale city					3,556	0%	8,127	0%	65
St. Bernard city	7,387	0%	7,066	0%	6,778	0%	6,080	2%	82
Terrace Park village	858	0%	1,265	1%	2,023	1%	2,266	0%	79
The Village of Indian Hill city			2,090	4%	4,526	1%	5,651	0%	63
Turpin Hills CDP									
White Oak CDP									
White Oak East CDP									
White Oak West CDP									
Woodlawn village			1,335	35%	3,007	22%	3,251	68%	50
Wyoming city	4,466	17%	5,582	16%	7,736	12%	9,089	9%	86
Missing data means none was available									

Table 13

Hamilton County Communities

Cities and Villages	
Map ID	Community
1	Amberley village
9	Arlington Heights village
10	Blue Ash city
11	Cheviot city
68	Fairfax village
71	Deer Park city
73	Elmwood Place village
74	Evendale village
75	Forest Park city
76	Glendale village
77	Golf Manor village
88	Greenhills village
89	Harrison city
91	Lincoln Heights village
92	Lockland village
93	Loveland city (part)
94	Madeira city
95	Mariemont village
96	Addyston village
97	Cleves village (part)
99	North Bend village
102	Montgomery city
103	Mount Healthy city
104	Newtown village
105	North College Hill city
106	Norwood city
107	Reading city
108	St. Bernard city
109	Sharonville city (part)
110	Silverton city
111	Springdale city
121	Terrace Park village
122	The Village of Indian Hill city
124	Woodlawn village
125	Wyoming city

Cincinnati Neighborhoods	
Map ID	Community
12	Avondale
13	Bond Hill
14	California
15	Camp Washington
16	Carthage
17	Central Business District - Riverfront
18	Clifton
19	College Hill
20	Corryville
21	East End
22	East Price Hill
23	East Walnut Hills
24	Evanston
25	Evanston - East Walnut Hills
26	Fairview - Clifton Heights
27	Fay Apartments
28	Hartwell
29	Hyde Park
30	Kennedy Heights
31	Linwood
32	Lower Price Hill
33	Madisonville
34	Mt. Adams
35	Mt. Airy
36	Mt. Auburn
37	Mt. Lookout
38	Mt. Lookout - Columbia Tusculum
39	Mt. Washington
40	North Avondale - Paddock Hills
41	North Fairmount - English Woods
42	Northside
43	Oakley
44	Over the Rhine
45	Pleasant Ridge
47	Riverside - Sayler Park
48	Roselawn
49	Sayler Park
50	Sedamsville - Riverside
51	South Cumminsville - Millvale
52	South Fairmount
53	University Heights
54	Walnut Hills
55	West End
56	West Price Hill
57	Westwood - East
58	Westwood - West
59	Winton Hills
60	Winton Place

Census Data Places		Community
Map ID	Township	
2	Anderson township	Cherry Grove CDP
3	Anderson township	Dry Run CDP
4	Anderson township	Forestville CDP
5	Anderson township	Fruit Hill CDP
6	Anderson township	Sherwood CDP
7	Anderson township	Turpin Hills CDP
61	Colerain township	Groesbeck CDP
62	Colerain township	Mount Healthy Heights CDP
63	Colerain township	Northbrook CDP
64	Colerain township	Northgate CDP
65	Colerain township	Pleasant Run CDP
66	Colerain township	White Oak CDP
78	Green township	Bridgetown North CDP
79	Green township	Covedale CDP (part)
80	Green township	Dent CDP (part)
81	Green township	Mack North CDP
82	Green township	Mack South CDP
83	Green township	Monfort Heights East CDP
84	Green township	Monfort Heights South CDP
85	Green township	White Oak East CDP
86	Green township	White Oak West CDP
98	Miami township	Grandview CDP
113	Springfield township	Finneytown CDP
114	Springfield township	Pleasant Run Farm CDP
116	Sycamore township	Dillonvale CDP
117	Sycamore township	Kenwood CDP
119	Symmes township	Loveland Park CDP (part)

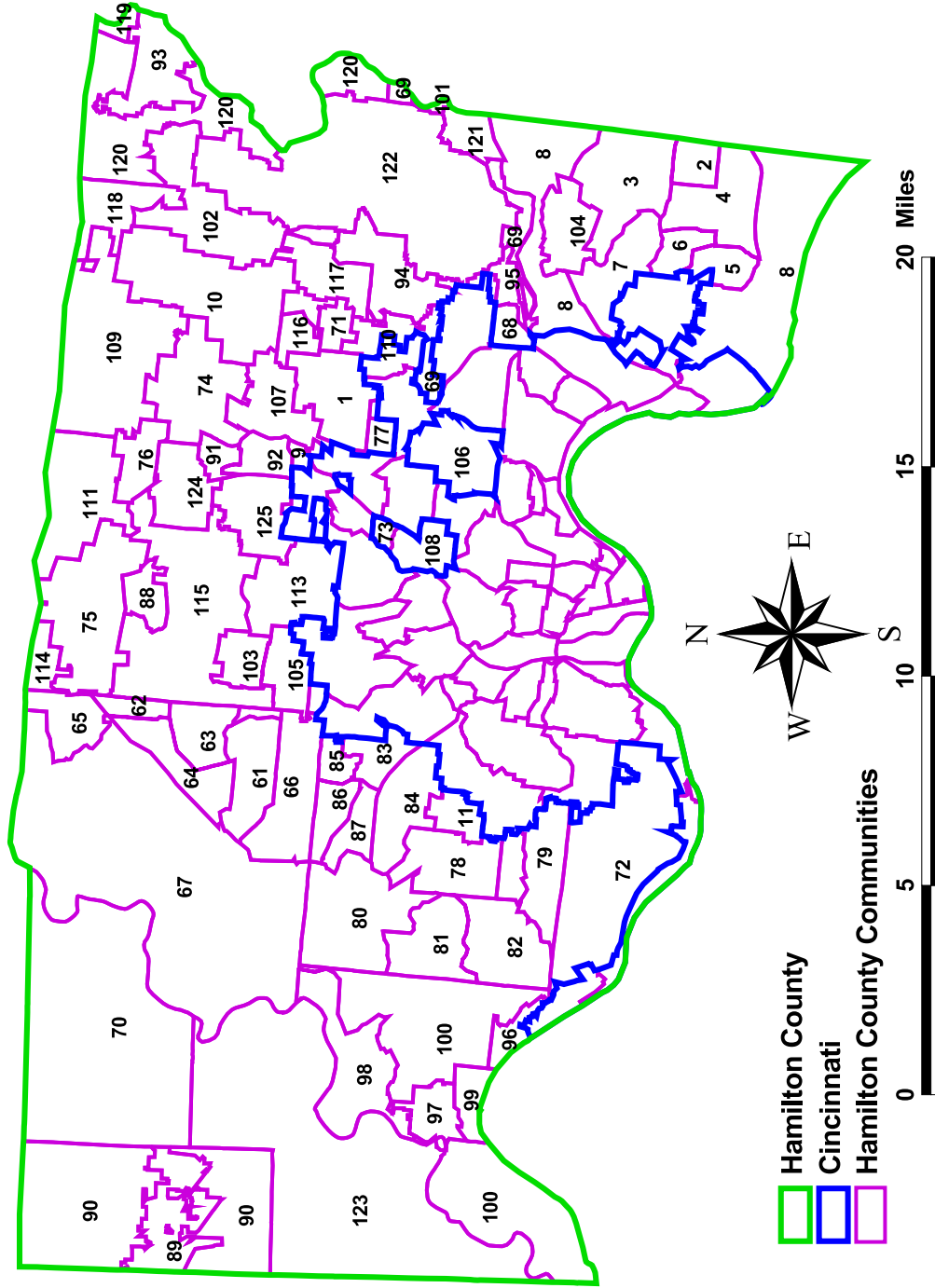
Townships and Remainders of Townships not Included Elsewhere

ID	Township	Community
8	Anderson township	Remainder of Anderson township
67	Colerain township	Remainder of Colerain township
69	Columbia township	Remainder of Columbia township
70	Crosby township	Crosby township
72	Delhi township	Delhi township
87	Green township	Remainder of Green township
90	Harrison township	Remainder of Harrison township
100	Miami township	Remainder of Miami township
115	Springfield township	Remainder of Springfield township
118	Sycamore township	Remainder of Sycamore township
120	Symmes township	Remainder of Symmes township
123	Whitewater township	Remainder of Whitewater township

Map 1

Hamilton County Communities

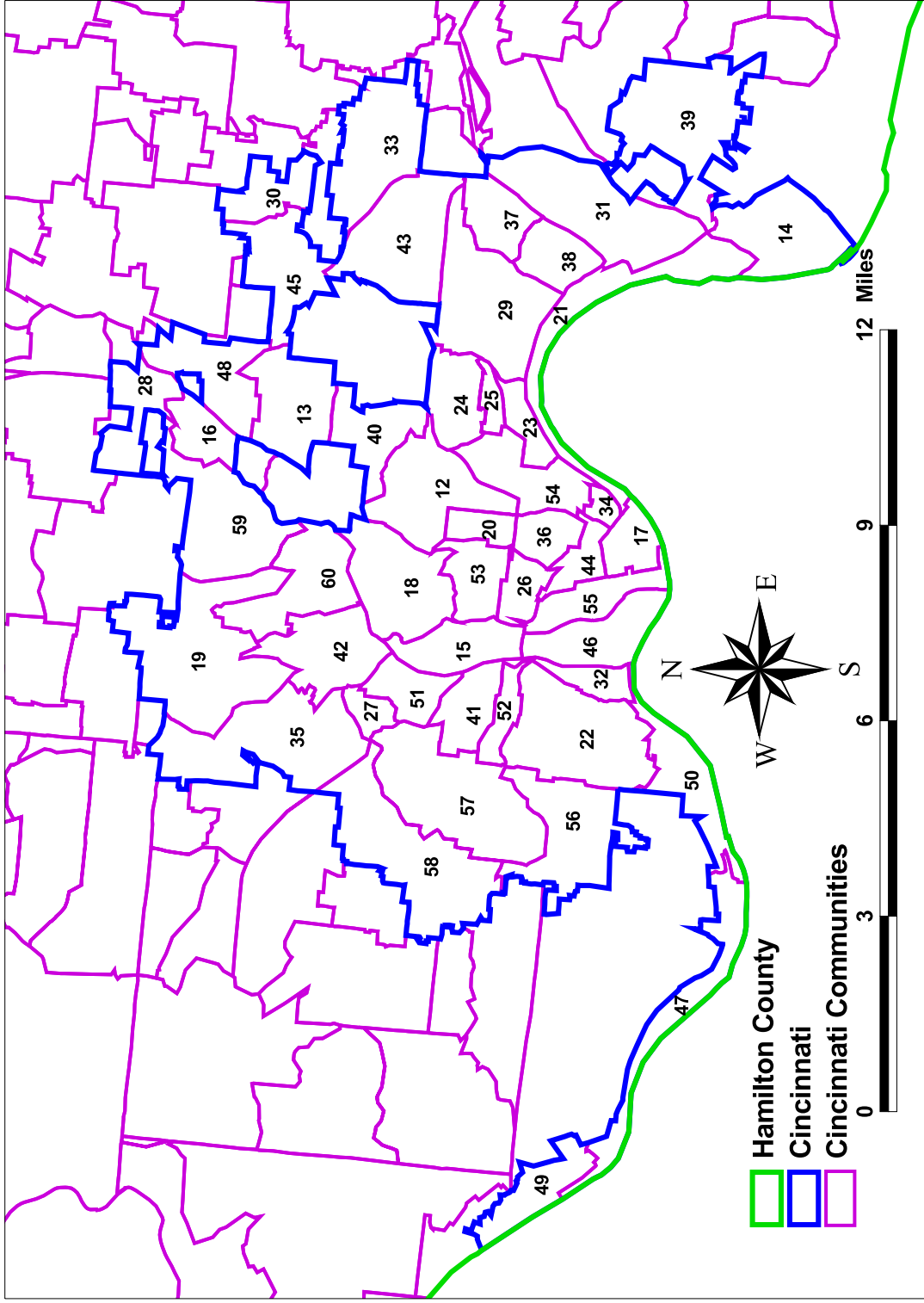
- 1 Amberley village
- 2 Cherry Grove CDP
- 3 Dry Run CDP
- 4 Fruit Hill CDP
- 5 Fruit Hill CDP
- 6 Sherwood CDP
- 7 Spring Hill CDP
- 8 Arlington Heights village
- 9 Arlington Heights village
- 10 Blue Ash city
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- 125 Blue Ash city



Map 2

Cincinnati Communities

- 12 Avondale
- 13 Bond Hill
- 14 California
- 15 Camp Washington
- 16 Carthage
- 17 Central Business District
- 18 Clifton
- 19 College Hill
- 20 Corryville
- 21 East End
- 22 East Price Hill
- 23 East Walnut Hills
- 24 Evanston
- 25 Evanston/East Walnut Hills
- 26 Fairview-Clifton Heights
- 27 Fay Apartments
- 28 Hartwell
- 29 Hyde Park
- 30 Kennedy Heights
- 31 Linwood
- 32 Lower Price Hill
- 33 Madisonville
- 34 Mt. Adams
- 35 Mt. Airy
- 36 Mt. Auburn
- 37 Mt. Lookout
- 38 Mt. Lookout/Columbia Tusculum
- 39 Mt. Washington
- 40 N. Avondale & Paddock Hills
- 41 North Fairmount - English Woods
- 42 Northside
- 43 Oakley
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Stable Integrated Communities

Part Two: Group Events, Interviews and Photovoice Records

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Introduction

About the Project

While recent studies have documented the geographic locations of Cincinnati's racially isolated communities, little research has focused on the communities in the region that are racially integrated. The Stephen H. Wilder Foundation funded a grant to the Cincinnati Association, which in turn funded two Cincinnati area researchers to study such neighborhoods. The Principal Investigators of the study are Fritz Casey-Leininger, Ph.D. and Erinn Green, Ph.D.

Dr. Casey-Leininger has completed an extensive analysis of the demographic trends of all Hamilton County communities dating back to 1980. The findings are reported in his Part 1 report summarizing the diversity and socio-economic characteristics of stably integrated neighborhoods. For cost reasons, the principal investigators selected three communities for further study that were representative of a larger number of stably integrated neighborhoods. Selection was based on neighborhood size and integrated status longevity. The communities selected were Northside, Pleasant Ridge and Madisonville. More information about these three communities can be found in the next section.

In order to better understand the key factors that have kept these communities stably integrated, this part of the research gathered information from a wide variety of community members in each neighborhood using three different methods.

The first activity was to conduct community large group events where citizens were first asked to respond to several topics related to diversity and then were asked to prioritize the themes represented. These events lasted ninety minutes each. Dinner was provided as well as the opportunity to win door prizes from local businesses. Participants were able to come together as a community at these events and articulate what makes their neighborhood a great place to live.

The second research method was a Photovoice element. Photovoice is a participatory action research method that gives a voice to people and issues often underrepresented in our communities. Four citizens from each neighborhood were asked to spend some time photographing images in their community that represent its diversity. They then shared those images at a follow up meeting and told a story about the particular image they selected. Selected images are included in Chapter 4 of this report. These photographs visually represent the successes and issues that occur in diverse neighborhoods.

The final aspect of the research was to conduct follow-up interviews with key members of the community in order to expand on the learnings from the large group events. The results from these interviews were incorporated in Chapters 4 and 5 of this report.

All community members who participated are listed in Appendix A.

About the Three Communities

A summary of the demographics of the three communities and those who participated in the large group community events is reported below.

Northside

As measured by the 2000 US Census, Northside is a community of 9,389 citizens. Fifty eight percent (58%) of the citizens characterized their race as white only and 39% identified themselves as black only in the 2000 Census. The black only population increased 26% since the 1980 census.

Twenty citizens in total participated in the Northside large group events. All were Caucasian. These participants have lived in Northside an average of 11.8 years. For a listing of the participants, see Appendix A.

Pleasant Ridge

Pleasant Ridge had 8,872 citizens at the time of the 2000 US Census. The racial makeup of these citizens was very similar to Northside—61% of citizens self-identified as white only and 36% reported being black only. The black only population in Pleasant Ridge increased 20% since the 1980 census.

Fourteen participants were involved in the large group events held in Pleasant Ridge. All were Caucasian. These citizens have lived in Pleasant Ridge an average of 26.2 years. The participants are listed in Appendix A.

Madisonville

Madisonville was the largest neighborhood in this phase of the study with 10,827 citizens at the time of the 2000 US census. Sixty percent (60%) of the population identified their race as black only, and 36% identified themselves as white only. The black only population increased 4% since the 1980 census.

Madisonville had the largest turnout for the large group events—44 people participated in the two events. The citizens who participated had lived in Madisonville for an average of 25.76 years. Seventy five percent (75%) of the participants were African American and 25% were Caucasian. Participants who chose to be identified are listed in Appendix A.

Methodology

Large Group Community Events

Information was first gathered from residents by conducting Large Group Events. Two events were held in each of the target neighborhoods. Participants were recruited by making announcements at community council meetings, postings on local websites, broadcast emails, door-to-door recruitment and flyers at local businesses and community centers.

A Large Group Event is an opportunity for people to get together and share their views about the neighborhood in which they reside. The event began with a gallery walk. This is a technique where individuals, armed with a magic marker, can circulate around the room (where the walls are covered with large sheets of paper) and respond to various questions about their neighborhood. This method has the advantage of giving participants the chance to read what others have written and respond to it, therefore gathering large amounts of information. The stations at this gallery walk included:

Station 1:

If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be....

What I want others to know about my community:

How I think others view my community:

Station 2:

Thinking about my community in general,

- its greatest strength is...
- its biggest challenge is...

Station 3:

With respect to diversity issues in my community,

- our greatest need is...
- our most important asset is...

Station 4:

My community is diverse in these ways:

My community is not diverse in these ways:

Station 5:

The benefits to living in a diverse community are...

The risks to living in a diverse community are...

Station 6:

Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income and race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and the reality?

- These are the barriers
- These people or organizations can help
- These are some of the steps we need to take

Station 7:

Secrets (box into which people can make anonymous contributions)

During the second part of the Large Group Event, participants prioritized the material generated by voting for the top one or two issues at each station.

Photovoice Activity

An exciting new methodology has emerged that allows people to visually represent what they view and value in the world around them. Photovoice was developed by Caroline C. Wang, DrPH at the University of Michigan as a way to give people who are traditionally less empowered a chance to speak through photographs (Wang, Burris & Ping, 1996). The goals of this aspect of the research included:

1. to capture images that highlight diversity in the neighborhood
2. to tell a story about the advantages and issues of living in a diverse neighborhood
3. to highlight the benefits of diversity to policy makers and citizens of less diverse communities.

Four individuals from each neighborhood were selected to participate as Photovoice researchers. At the first large group event in each community, recruits were solicited. If more than four people volunteered, a drawing was done to determine who would have the opportunity to participate. Once the participants were selected, they were trained at an introductory session which included information on the goals of the project, ethical concerns and participant safety (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). After the orientation, they were armed with a disposable camera and set free in their community to collect visual evidence of the things that make their neighborhood diverse. They were asked to return the camera within several weeks, were mailed a copy of the prints and later attended a follow-up meeting to verbally describe the most relevant photos. Participants received a \$50 stipend for their participation in this aspect of the research.

Key Informant Interviewing

Three additional one-on-one telephone interviews were conducted with specific residents from each neighborhood. The participants for these interviews were identified in collaboration with community leaders and community council members. These interviews were used to follow up on themes generated during the Large Group Events and Photovoice sessions and followed a fixed script. Questions for participants included:

- What are the benefits to living in a diverse community?
- What are the costs to living in a diverse community?
- What are your community's assets in terms of diversity?
- What are the threats to your community as a result of your diversity?
- What opportunities are present in your community as a result of your diversity?

Results of Large Group Community Events

The results from the large group community events were analyzed and central themes were organized into five main categories for each neighborhood: benefits, costs, assets, threats and opportunities. The themes for each neighborhood are reported individually below. All opinions are those directly expressed by the community members who participated in the large group events. The complete transcription of data from the large group events can be found in Appendix B.

Northside

Benefits of diversity in Northside

- Citizens believe that Northside is a community that is open to all people. Many felt a benefit to living there is that your neighbors are friendly and accepting. People are open-minded in Northside, and all kinds of citizens feel welcome. The neighbors in Northside are friendly and hospitable.
- It is interesting to live in a diverse community. It allows the neighbors to understand other kinds of people and new viewpoints. It gives citizens a wealth of ideas and approaches to life. Participants felt it made them well informed about people who are different than themselves. It also leads to less fear of different kinds of people.
- The more viewpoints you have, the more likely you are to make good decisions for the community. By involving all kinds of people in community decision-making, you get a full gamut of information and input. Having diverse viewpoints allows community leaders to make good decisions.

Costs of diversity in Northside

- One cost of diversity is the perception that property values can go either way; there is a risk home values may suffer because they are located in a diverse community. Housing values do not seem to increase as much as they do in less diverse parts of the city.
- Citizens feel they have to be willing to live with the fear of crime and deal with drugs and guns. Crime is often an issue in the area.
- A mistrust of different kinds of people can still exist. Just because an individual interacts with many kinds of individuals on a daily basis doesn't guarantee tolerance. Misunderstandings can often lead to discomfort. There is still racial tension in many of the community's activities.

Assets that lead to Northside's Diversity

- Northside has a tradition of tolerance and is a community that has a lot of community spirit. People work together and look out for each other. People intentionally chose to live in Northside and most are

willing to actively strive to advance the neighborhood. It has a history of being an activist community—neighbors feel they can improve their neighborhood from within without needing much outside assistance.

- The housing stock is excellent. Housing is affordable and the overall cost of living is low. The architecture is eclectic and interesting. There are options in all price ranges, which leads to diversity in socioeconomic status.
- The physical location of Northside is good. It is close to the interstates and downtown Cincinnati. This allows people to get to where they need to go and easy access to other areas of the city for both work and pleasure.
- There is a business district that has been transformed in recent years and offers many different kinds of shops. Most businesses are locally owned and operated. There are shops that cater to all kinds of people; you don't have to leave the neighborhood in order to get what you need.

Threats to Northside's Diversity

- Outsiders often view the area as dangerous. Many people think of drug dealings, shootings and murders when they think of Northside. Also, there are many unsupervised teenagers. The perception of crime and feelings of being unsafe can make people less willing to live in the area.
- There are still issues with stereotyping individuals who are different. People often assume that we know the differences, but need to realize that we don't always completely understand others. If citizens don't remain and strive to be more open to others, the neighborhood may not stay diverse.

Opportunities for Northside's Diversity

- There need to be more diverse events where people of different races can spend time together. There is little black/white mingling. The integration block-by-block is inadequate for true diversity. In addition, community meeting places need to be developed. There need to be places where people can come together as a community. More opportunities for interactions could increase diversity and tolerance.
- Citizens need to partner with neighborhood partners—local businesses, schools and police. A diverse community needs to involve and include more than just the citizens. By supporting and improving these neighborhood entities, many of the costs and threats can be addressed.
- There needs to be diverse representation within the decision-makers of the community. The community council needs to be a truly representative body of the community in order for all voices to be heard. More people need to help solve the neighborhood's issues. People of all backgrounds, races, and socioeconomic status need to be involved. There is a core group of individuals who do the majority of the work in the neighborhood. More voices need to be drawn in and the barriers to involvement by all kinds of people need to be broken down.

Pleasant Ridge

Benefits of diversity in Pleasant Ridge

- Pleasant Ridge is a good place to raise a family. The community is stable and family friendly. Citizens feel that all kinds of people are welcome in the community; it is a friendly and welcoming place. Neighbors get along and are helpful to one another. People look out for each other and the children.

- The children being raised in the community are able to grow up with a better understanding of diversity and people who are different than them. They learn from a young age that not everyone looks like them, and that diversity is good.

Costs of diversity in Pleasant Ridge

- Safety is an issue. There is some crime and risk involved in living in a diverse community. The perception is that there is some gang activity, drug trafficking and panhandlers in the area.
- It is hard for people who live outside the community to understand why people choose to live in a diverse community. Many family members and friends question citizen's choice to live in the area.

Assets that lead to Pleasant Ridge's Diversity

- Pleasant Ridge is centrally located. It is easy to get around via buses or car. It is also a "walkable" community. People can get to where they need to go.
- The citizens of Pleasant Ridge are tolerant. Many come from diverse backgrounds, but they are broadminded and are willing to co-exist with people who are different from them. Citizens are very loyal to the community. Most have purposely chosen to live in a diverse community.
- The neighborhoods in Pleasant Ridge are aesthetically pleasant. The housing stock is attractive and well maintained. There are many different choices in terms of types and prices of housing.
- There are dedicated small business owners who are willing to take risks and provide diverse services. All citizens have places to shop that meet their needs.
- There are many churches and faith based organizations who take an active role in promoting diversity. These organizations spread a message of tolerance and allow people of varied backgrounds the opportunity to worship together.

Threats to Pleasant Ridge's Diversity

- There is often poor communication between races. A lot of stereotyping goes on between people who have different backgrounds. There is the risk of saying something that might offend others. People can be afraid to step on other's toes.
- The community has a lack of "move-up" housing for young families. There are not an abundance of housing alternatives so that families can stay in the area. Many move to the suburbs when they outgrow their starter homes rather than staying in the area.
- There are deteriorated properties in the area. The run-down properties are a threat to property values. Blight also decreases neighborhood pride.

Opportunities for Pleasant Ridge's Diversity

- More people need to be involved in the neighborhood improvement process. This includes citizens of different backgrounds as well as parents, churches and other community entities. Community wide events would provide additional engagement from all groups. Better communication needs to be developed so information can be gathered from all types of people who live in the neighborhood.

- Pleasant Ridge needs to be more integrated at the block level. Races seem to be clustered in certain areas. If people lived close to each other, they would gain need even more exposure to different races and cultures. They need education about other cultures and to learn to associate with people who are not like themselves. Perceptions need to be changed.

Madisonville

Benefits of diversity in Madisonville

- Madisonville is seen by its citizens as a good place to live. It is an area that is on the rise and has potential. Residents feel the area is thriving. Being diverse draws many different kinds of people into the neighborhood.
- Citizens of Madisonville are open to being with people from all walks of life. They are accepting of others who are diverse. This includes people who are diverse in many ways—race, age, marital status, sexual preference and ability. All kinds of people feel welcome in the community
- Living in a diverse community provides people with access to different points of view. When you meet people with a wider background, it exposes you to wider ideas and a wider perspective. Citizens can learn and share different cultures. You gain knowledge of other people. This allows people to undo stereotypes. Communication leads to barriers coming down.

Costs of diversity in Madisonville

- There are crime and safety issues in the neighborhood. There is the perception that the police don't pay as much attention to the area as higher income neighborhoods. When people see youth hanging around in crowds, they assume it is drug activity.
- There are blighted and abandoned homes in the area. Some areas have issues with unkempt yards and litter. This gives the perception that it is a shabby neighborhood in which to live and makes pride in the neighborhood suffer. It also leads to lower resale values on homes.

Assets that lead to Madisonville's Diversity

- Many different kinds of people live in Madisonville. They come from various ethnic and economic backgrounds. This allows neighbors to learn from each other.
- Religious faith is very important to many of the citizens. There are many kinds of churches in the area. The churches are becoming more diverse and allow people of different backgrounds to worship together.
- Madisonville is well located and convenient to other areas. This allows people to get to different areas of the city and other communities with relative ease. You can also walk to neighborhood locations such as the school and recreation center.
- The area has excellent housing stock; there are many livable homes with large yards. There are large houses with historic architecture. Affordable housing is also abundant. There is something for everyone in the area.

- Madisonville has a wonderful recreation center that serves as a gathering spot. Many people in the community use it, and it allows people to have a central place to socialize. Community members can take advantage of the many activities offered.

Threats to Madisonville's Diversity

- There are many misunderstandings and inaccurate assumptions by outsiders. Visitors often have a negative opinion of this area and either don't come or speed through. People view it as poor and dangerous. Others feel the area is drug-infested. The media coverage is not positive. This may limit the number of people willing to move into the community.
- There can be a lack of understanding between neighbors. Some citizens don't show respect and trust toward each other. The perception is that this may be even prevalent with senior and older adults. There are those on both sides that seem not to want to let go of the past because they grew up in a segregated society. This can create barriers.
- The educational opportunities and schools need to be improved. If young people don't have opportunities for equal education with a well-rounded curriculum, they are put behind others in more affluent neighborhoods. One school has closed (Bramble Academy) and another (John Parker) is in academic emergency. There is an excellent private school, but it is too expensive for most of the citizens. Lack of educational opportunities may keep people from moving into the area.

Opportunities for Madisonville's Diversity

- Stores and other businesses are needed. The central business district needs to be revitalized in order to make the community viable. There need to be incentives for business owners. There is a need to create more stores that serve the needs of the community. People in the area (and from neighboring communities) who have resources would come for good retail and restaurants. A good retail district would also give the community a gathering place.
- Community members need to be organized for a common good. More people need to be involved in activities that bring all races together. There needs to be increased dialogue between residents. People would rally around the school or other activities like a farmer's market or community sale.
- Madisonville needs to seek opportunities for better publicity and marketing. One way this can be done is through publicizing community projects. This way, people would think of Madisonville in a more positive light.

Results of Photovoice Activity

Photographs that highlight some of the main findings from the large group events in each community are displayed below. The complete listing of Photovoice pictures and stories can be found in Appendix C.

Northside

Open to all people:



Karen Andrew:

This is at Knowlton Corner. There is a sign on it that says that Northside is not just a neighborhood, it's a lifestyle. If you buy into that, everybody's welcome here. Lots of diverse businesses, everyone and every business is welcome.

Access to new viewpoints:



Diane Stroud:

This picture is of three boys in 6th grade in the school library looking at books. They are having a good time working together. They don't see any different in races and can get along if they are taught from an early age that they are all the same.

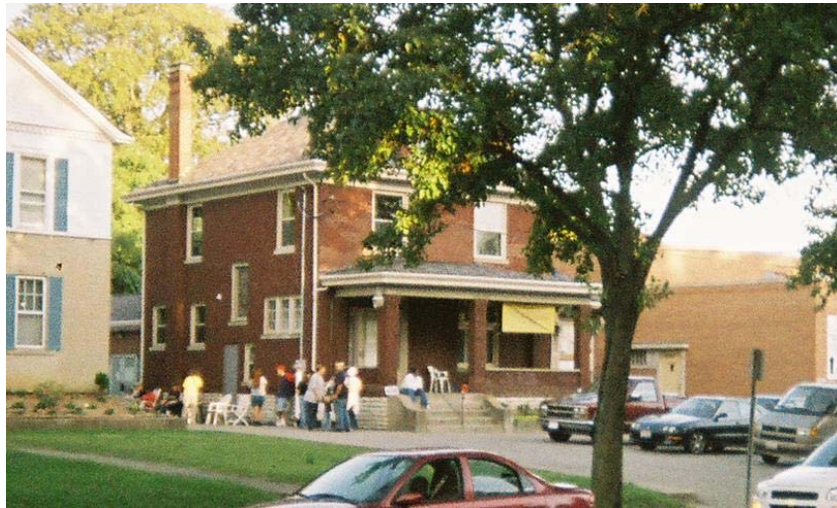
Good decision making:



Bill McCormick:

This is a meeting of the Community Council board members in Northside. I have been on the board for a year now; we plan what's going to happen in the meetings. People of different races attend, but we're not too diverse in terms of the people who attend the council meetings. This is always a problem we are trying to work on.

Community spirit and activism:



Douglas Striker:

On this early autumn evening you can see close to a dozen individuals waiting for a local food pantry to open up. CAIN serves a couple hundred residents of Northside annually through weekly food pantry hours. They provide not only food donations, but also: clothing, household items, toiletries, utilities assistance, school supplies, counseling services, and special assistance during the holidays. There is a wide spectrum of diversity within the individuals that work/volunteer at CAIN and those residents that utilize their services. I think it is safe to say that CAIN is one of the hearts of Northside that keeps people feeling attached to the community in one way or another.

Diverse business district:



Bill McCormick:

This is Knowlton Center, the heart of downtown. Most buildings have been totally renovated. This area has a grant to redo all the facades on the buildings. This is also the busiest bus stop in Northside.

Racial/economic segregation on streets:



Karen Andrew:

This is my apartment building. It may be ugly on the outside, but my balcony over looks the woods. You can get a decent place for cheap rent. It is a safe building with nice decent people. This is a diverse building—Whites, Blacks and Asians all live here and it is owned by an African immigrant. It is a nice street and the whole area is diverse.

Events and co-mingling:



Bill McCormick:

This is the Northside Farmer's Market that occurs weekly in the summer months. It is well attended and a great place for people to get together. These kind of events are good for the community.

Pleasant Ridge

Welcoming community:



John and Beth Finn:

This is Danielle McKelley, Gina Gambrel, and Dana Menz. These three ladies are the ring-leaders for the best get-together our street has seen in my 27 years in Pleasant Ridge. On September 9, 2006, we had a block party on our street. These three had done all the planning, getting signatures, from all the residents agreeing to have the street blocked off for a few hours. They distributed the flyers announcing the asking for people to bring a salad, a side dish, or a dessert. Most of the people on our street attended. We had people of all ages, several races and nationalities. I think one particularly poignant moment occurred when our next-door neighbor asked me to introduce her to our neighbor across the street. Karen has lived in our neighborhood for about ten years, but she had not met anyone but her immediate neighbors. After the block party, there were a lot fewer "strangers" on our street!

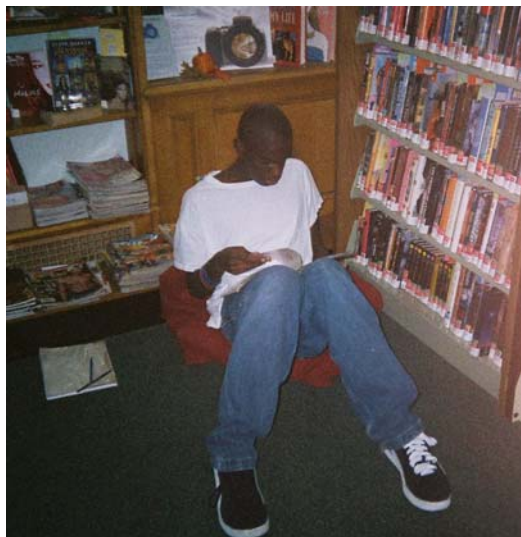
Welcoming community:



John and Beth Finn:

If you ask for an example of diversity at work, this picture shows a perfect example, in my opinion. Jo and Skip (William) live across the street from one another. In the picture, Jo and Skip are standing in front of a stone wall that Skip built for Jo. Their relationship is built on mutual respect and love. In the course of arranging for this photograph, Jo told me a bit more about their relationship. Seven years ago, when Jo's husband was dying, he asked Skip to look after Jo. Skip said that he would and he has lived up to that promise. The lesson to be learned from this is if "diversity" is to work, there must be mutual respect. You do not always have to agree. Jo and Skip don't see eye to eye on every subject, but they respect the other's opinion.

Learning for children:



Steve Lilly:

This was taken at the library at Pleasant Ridge. It shows a teenager who hasn't given up. I'd like to think that living in diverse neighborhood allows him to get good grades and not be ashamed.

Tolerant to others:



Steve Lilly:

This is a man on the street that some might say is eccentric; he says that government is sending electricity through him. This picture shows there is tolerance out there because he is out there every Sunday and nobody bothers him. He has been a fixture for many years and people tolerate him.

Aesthetically pleasing homes:



Shelia Kinnen:

In this photograph I see one of the many large, old beautiful houses in Pleasant Ridge. I wanted to use this house to demonstrate the variety of housing in the area. Although we need more varied housing in Pleasant Ridge, I think we have a nice mix—these big old houses on beautiful tree lined streets are on the high end of the neighborhood. I am glad that we have this housing market because it helps us to stay economically diverse in the area.

Small business owners:



Shelia Kinnen:

You can't see it very well, but there is a lot of diverse retail in this photo—there's a nail salon, a toy store, a tattoo parlor and an upscale women's clothing store. This is what I love about Pleasant Ridge—all of these stores, in beautiful old buildings, attracting all sorts of customers. It is great that we have businesses that are doing well and bringing people into the area.

Churches/faith based organizations:



Shelia Kinnen:

This photo shows the Nativity Parish sign. It's just a coincidence that the signage is about our "Friendship Week"—which was a project all over the world. We have several strong churches in the area that have good sized congregations, but I do believe that one of Nativity's strengths is that it is very much a neighborhood school and parish—and that the church and school leaders are very community minded and always participate in the various events throughout the year. I feel strongly that Nativity is vital to the stability of the neighborhood.

Increased Integration:



Steve Lilly:

This was taken in front of the Pleasant Perk coffee shop. These are kids from the charter school talking to Perk workers & school employees. The Charter school is all black and Nativity across the street is all white. These schools are still separated due to religion & economic levels.

Madisonville

An area on the rise:



Marjorie Gillispie:

My idea in this picture is to demonstrate a game of "follow the leader."

Madisonville is a leader in diversity. This is a playground from the park next to the Community Center. These are school aged children and they get a safe place to play, with safe equipment. Parents can still keep an eye on the children while sitting on the picnic tables close by. This tends to be a gathering place for the community.

Different kinds of people:



Addie Hunter:

This is a picture of my daughter. At first she did not want to move to Madisonville from Avondale, but now likes it. When I interviewed her, she said:

"When my Mom moved us here from Avondale, we did not like the thought of going to new schools and meeting new friends, however, our neighbors helped us a lot. We now can live with all people; our block is still diverse today."

Religious faith:



Cheril Tribble:

This used to be primarily a white Methodist church. My church fellowshiped with this church while our church was being built. Now it is a Korean Methodist Church and we still fellowship with them and have conferences with them. This church building has been there on Madison Road since I was a little girl.

Good housing stock:



Marjorie Gillispie:

This is a house on Peabody that was built by Habitat for Humanity. I like that Habitat chose Madisonville as a good place to build houses. I watched them build these houses. There are two homes and one is occupied by a white family and one by a Latino family. They have been occupied since they were built and they are nice houses.

Madisonville Recreation Center:



Addie Hunter:

This is the receptionist at the Community Center. She said the following when I interviewed her:

"Most of my adult life, I have lived in a diverse neighborhood. We moved into our present residence in June 1990, and we were the first African Americans on our block. At the present time there are only two African American families on our block. We have been fortunate to have some very nice neighbors, and we enjoy our neighbors and our neighborhood."

Organization of community members:



Dora George:

This was taken at the annual CPOP banquet where we received an award for the mini job fair we put on for ex-offenders. This picture shows all the people from the community that attended the event to see us receive our award.

Shared Themes

The results from each community's large group event and Photovoice events were analyzed to determine common themes across neighborhoods. The top eight themes are reported below.

Opportunity to Learn About Others

Participants reported one of the largest advantages to living in a diverse community was the opportunity to learn about other types of people. Living in a neighborhood with people who are not exactly like you provides different points of view. Citizens liked the wider perspective they gained from learning from each other. This is an advantage that can be marketed to individuals who live in less diverse communities.

Tolerant Citizen Base

One necessity for a well functioning diverse community is to have a tolerant citizen base. The three neighborhoods in the study all appeal to a certain type of citizen. Diverse neighborhoods work best with neighbors who are open minded, accepting, friendly and tolerant of others. This also extends to the children who live in the community. There is the perception that the next generation of tolerant citizens is being trained in these communities.

Community Pride

All three neighborhoods had great community pride. Participants reported intentionally moving to these neighborhoods to seek out diversity. They were all proud that their neighborhood was chosen as a model and willing to share their ideas and learnings with others. They spoke highly of living in these communities and wanted to share the benefits with others. While some participants reported being questioned about their neighborhood choice by outsiders, not one reported wanting to leave the area in which they reside. Finding citizens who believe in their neighborhood is essential to continuing diversity.

Diverse Housing Stock

All three areas, while economically diverse, reported that the access to affordable housing was crucial for their neighborhood to retain its diversity. Citizens in all three areas reported having diverse options in attractive housing stock. Having affordable, livable homes and apartments is a necessity to maintain the diversity of these areas.

Small Businesses and Support Services

To support a diverse community, you need a diversity of businesses and services. Each of the communities involved spoke of the importance of the current businesses and the necessity of expanding the options for other business owners. The neighborhoods had services that ranged from food banks to excellent private schools. There need to be resources for everyone in the immediate area or people will look to live elsewhere.

Partnerships with Faith Based Organizations

Faith and churches play a big role in promoting diversity in all three neighborhoods. Citizens reported that churches are still mostly segregated by race, but preach tolerance of different kinds of people. Many participants reported living in the area they do because of the religious parish they frequent. The individuals who participated in this study identified churches as a necessity to a thriving diverse neighborhood.

Crime

The largest barrier to living in a diverse neighborhood identified by participants was crime. This was an issue in all three communities. Many reported that they felt outsiders viewed their area as "dangerous" or "a bad neighborhood" because of blighted and abandoned homes as well as the media coverage of their area. Inaccurate assumptions by those outside the neighborhood and the perception of crime were seen as barriers for some to move to or remain in the area. In addition, neighborhoods reported needing better publicity for the good things that were happening in their neighborhood rather than focusing on the problems and struggles.

Citizen Involvement

Another challenge that all three neighborhoods were facing was how to bring all kinds of citizens together to both socialize and make decisions for the community. This parallels a finding from a 1994 Wilder report by Stephen J. Simurda where developing opportunities for informal social mixing was encouraged. Residents felt that some types of people are consistently underrepresented at community events. For true diversity, participants felt the need to get input from more kinds of people.

Conclusions

Along with the eight shared themes, two additional overall conclusions emerged during the final analysis of the research. Those conclusions are reported below.

Costs of diversity vary by race

Simurda's 1994 report concluded that Caucasians and African Americans are both concerned about racial tensions in Cincinnati and the current research supports that. However, an additional conclusion from this research emerged during the Madisonville event and the follow-up key informant interviews. It became apparent that while persons of both races were committed to living in a diverse neighborhood and shared many benefits of living in these communities, the reported costs of living in a diverse neighborhood varied by race. The best example of this is the issue of crime. Caucasian participants were much more likely to talk about the risk of crime than were African American participants. This is a topic that needs additional exploration.

Even model communities have issues

While all three communities reported being extremely proud to be named one of the most diverse and stable communities in Hamilton County, they all spoke of challenges they still encountered in terms of diversity. Most felt they had a way to go before they could be a true model for others. Citizens identified many ways they had yet to improve diversity including increased tolerance by all citizens, greater integration (especially at the block level), more understanding between neighbors and improved communication between races. At the community events in both Northside and Pleasant Ridge, all of the participants were Caucasian. This is a clear demonstration of the lack of involvement by all community members, which also needs additional exploration.

References

- Stephen H. Wilder Foundation. (1994). *Race in Cincinnati*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Simurda, Stephen J.
- Wang, C., Burris, M. A., & Ping, X. Y. (1996). Chinese Village Women as Visual Anthropologists: A Participatory Approach to Reaching Policymakers. *Social Science and Medicine*, 42(10), 1391-1400.
- Wang, C. & Redwood-Jones, Y. (2001). Photovoice Ethics: Perspectives From Flint Photovoice. *Health Education and Behavior*, 28(5), 560-572.

Participants

Large Group Events

Seventy-six citizens of the three neighborhoods participated in the large group events. Their names are listed below:

Northside	Pleasant Ridge	Madisonville	Madisonville
Douglas Striker	Jim Abbott	Addie Hunter	Eardley Nesbitt
Linda Seiter	Gerri Lilly	Crystal Bossard	Wilbur Nesbitt
Lucy Crane	Steve Lilly	Denise Barwick	Kevin Walker
Jim Good	Amy Scrogan	Sara Sheets	Jackie Jones
Shannon Hogan	Shelia Kinnen	Lonzo Buckner	Michael Richardson
Karen Andrew	John Finn	Taylor Tribble	Marcia Richardson
Diana Hueil	Beth Finn	Todd Tribble	Ned Thorp
Bill McCormick	Suzanne Tompkins	Tracy Tribble	Karen Thorp
Diane Stroud	Brendan Cronin	Pamela Quisenberry	Holly Schwein
Gene Stroud	Sue Oden	Marjorie Gillispie	Jon Sinclair
Carol Yoken	Judith Lewis	Dora George	Barbara Jackson
Barbara Lambing	Clete Benken	Denise Richardson	Prencis Wilson
Alma Lambing		Mike Richardson	Pete Asmen
Brooke Schray		Angela Bronzie	Katie Schoeny
Shawn Schray		Julia Torrey	Roger Simon
Gary Skitt		Alice Tribble	
Callie Dean		Cheril Tribble	
J. Staples		Tori Tribble	
and 2 others who wish to remain anonymous	and 2 others who wish to remain anonymous		and 11 others who wish to remain anonymous

Participation in an event does not imply agreement with the findings of this report. Thanks go to all of the respondents for their participation and input.

Photovoice Activity

Twelve individuals (or couples) were selected for the Photovoice activities. The names of the participants and the community they represent are reported in the table below.

Name	Community Represented
Douglas Striker	Northside
Diane and Gene Stroud	Northside
Karen Andrew	Northside
Bill McCormick	Northside
Shelia Kinnen	Pleasant Ridge
Steve and Gerri Lilly	Pleasant Ridge
James Abbott	Pleasant Ridge
John and Beth Finn	Pleasant Ridge
Marjorie Gillispie	Madisonville
Addie Hunter	Madisonville
Dora George	Madisonville
Cheril Tribble	Madisonville

The photographs that each individual took and their description can be found in Appendix C. Thanks go to all of the Photovoice participants for their hard work and artistic effort. Participation in the Photovoice activity in no way implies support for the findings of this report.

Key Informant Interviewees

Nine individuals served as key informants for this Phase 2 report. The names of the participants and the community they represent are reported in the table below.

Name	Community Represented
Paul Green	Northside
Anne Glenn	Northside
Jeff Stahley	Northside
Geri Lilly	Pleasant Ridge
Beth Finn	Pleasant Ridge
Amy Scrogans	Pleasant Ridge
Prencis Wilson	Madisonville
Karen Thorp	Madisonville
Denise Richardson	Madisonville

Participation in an interview does not imply approval of the findings of this report. Thanks go to all of the respondents for their participation and input.

B

Large Group Event Raw Data

Note: For all of the Large Group Event Data, the numbers after the response indicate how many people endorsed the statement as most critical in the prioritizing process (each participant could validate two items per question). The numbers of checks listed indicate how many individuals agreed with the statement during the gallery walk portion of the session. These were used to determine what the most agreed upon items were at each station.

Community Forum #1 Northside Gallery Walk Responses

1. If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be...

- Cool-1
- Hard working-2
- Artistic-1 (one check)
- Urban feel
- Tolerant
- Housing architecture
- Eclectic-5
- Open to new ideas
- Friendliness & Acceptance of residents-1
- Diverse-4
- Exciting-2(one check)
- Friendly library-1

2. What I want others to know about my community.....

- Great People-3(two checks)
- people work together-5
- great community spirit-1
- Laid back-not-frou-frou or posturing (one check)
- great walking community-2(one check)
- safe & comfortable-2(one check)
- dog friendly-1
- I literally know everyone on my street-we look out for each other
- First community where I lived & I got to know my neighbors & become involved in my community-3
- We love trees & parks (two checks here) and gardening-1
- Move here now, fix a beautiful house up, meet the neighbors & have fun!

3. How I think others view Northside....

- Cool, interesting,
- Cool—becoming a “hot spot” to go, but could be dangerous
- Dangerous, drug dealing

- Gay pride parade & 4th of July parade
- Junkie
- Funky & fun
- Shootings, murders, robberies
- Hip, happening cool gay-1
- Inviting, but at the same time dangerous
- Worth watching because property values are up...close proximity to the city a huge plus. Leaving the date of Northside linked to success of downtown revitalization

4. Thinking about my community in general

Its greatest strength is....

- We have many people that want to continue to improve this community themselves, rather than wait for the city (cinci/city council) or other outside entities do it for them-4
- Residents make effort to improve the atmosphere-internet/email list, community meetings, citizens on patrol, etc.-6
- People live there because they want a sense of community and to know their neighbors-2
- Active community council & other citizen organizations
- People here care and take action on issues they are concerned about & others join in
- Cheap rent in decent apartments
- Fabulous location-easy access to downtown, UC, highways, etc.
- Proximity to downtown, cool old houses/mansions, liberal residents—2
- It's diversity—3

Its biggest challenge is....

- The same people continue to be the ones to work towards improvement, and I fear they will burn out—2
- Living with crime (drugs & guns)—8 (one check)
- Blocks often feel disenfranchised, individual with community council-1
- City government gives us lower priority-1
- Develop without gentrification that costs too many people out—1 (one check)
- Teens with nothing to do –unsupervised children—2
- Junior (middle) & high school students have to leave Northside for school. I grew up in small town where the 12 grades of public school were part of the glue of the community. More sense of community & a complete place to belong to-1
- Housing values not increasing at the same rate as other neighborhoods
- Crime, could “go either” way—1
- Too many juveniles out late at night!—1
- Vacant abandoned buildings—1
- Empty store fronts on Hamilton—2
- Providing equal opportunity for jobs & education—2

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community,

Our greatest need is....

- More involvement from more diverse people to represent the true diversity—1 (one check)
- More black & white people spending time together—9
- Equal opportunities for all—1
- Getting the word out—1
- I rarely see Hispanics here. I know one family. Either they don't live here or they don't participate. Same with Asians. So we need everyone to participate.
- More security on the darker streets—2
- Clean-up the drug dealing streets
- More neighborhood police involvement

- Development of green space, parks, bike paths—1
- Strong outreach effort to get folks to move here, buy housing, locate good businesses
- Sidewalk along Crawford (along, Spring Grove) & other walking paths—1
- More communication of what's going on in the community

Our most important asset is...

- People who are open—4 (one check)
- Gay/straight vibe (one check)
- Great architecture—1 (one check)
- People with progressive politics—3
- People help others—1
- House and porch tours—3
- Affordable housing—6 (two checks)
- Northside wide yard sale in August
- Great houses available at reasonable prices—1
- Proximity to downtown—1
- Maureen Wood
- Lots of artists
- Dog & kid friendly
- Our parade—4th of July, it's known throughout the community & gay pride
- Business district improvements

6. Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income & race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and reality?

These are the barriers....

- Need a range of housing types-rental, owner, range of prices, that are desirable
- Differences in values & lifestyles-1
- Schools (may be an excuse) but many whites flock to suburbs (predominately white) because they public schools are supposedly bad in Cincinnati—1
- We don't always enjoy the same things cultural differences—3 (one check)
- Perception of people who live in low-income housing-negligent landlords—3
- Fear of crime—4
- Crime/drug deals going down—2
- Scary/stray dogs—1
- Run-down store fronts on Hamilton
- Uneducated people pass bad "stuff" down through generations. I see it here

These people or organizations can help....

- Community council=agree
- CAIN—1
- ACORN
- Social groups
- New theatre group, Queen City Off Broadway
- Large corps like P&G, GE, etc. can relocate employees from other cities to Northside—2
- The business community—3
- Get rid of bias of real estate agents, they do not even mention Northside
- The restaurants, stores, etc. that bring in people & jobs—2
- Public library—3
- Realtors (they steer people away)
- Police—1
- Community gardens—1

- McKie Rec Center—1
- Farmers Market—1

These are some of the steps we need to take.....

- Be more honest with each other (one check)
- Take risks (one check)
- More jobs in community at various levels of education—1 (two checks)
- More social events that are of interest to Black & White—2 (two checks)
- Get more involved with one another—6
- Marked public transportation and once you have a captive market push integration—1
- Public events of broad interest and free in public spaces-music, films—3
- Support & improve public schools—8(one check)
- Get other people to come to Community Council & other organizations & get involved—4

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- Income (two checks)
- Ethnicity (one check)
- More immigrants
- Education
- Race
- Gay/straight (one check)
- Lots of creative/artsy people (one check)
- People who love green spaces & fight for/create gardens, parks, garden pots downtown, community gardens
- There are businesses that cater to specific race
- Various religious organizations, many of which very involved with community i.e. CAIN
- What people do for a living—lots of contractors who've fixed up neat old houses, lots of working class, some yuppies—3
- I see black & white kids playing together

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Individual streets seem separated racially/economically—9 (one check)
- Little back/white mingling—5 (one check)
- Class lines and racial lines, middle class whites & upper blacks
- Few Latinos, Asians, etc. few international
- Is it accessible for people with disabilities?
- Politics
- Black/white people seldom socialize—2
- We are not integrated community (racial, social, living on same street...)—4
- We're missing right-wing Republicans (which is a good thing!)
- Need more young families—2

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- New perspectives
- Challenging socially
- Reality—2
- Not a cocoon
- It reflects the larger community, helps us understand issues on larger community that are reflected here
- Much more fun—never know what's going to happen—3
- Not afraid of other kinds of people because you get to know them as human beings—9
- Children being raised in such a community get to interact with people from many backgrounds, and get to see & hopefully appreciate the realities of life—2

- Good food—1 (one check)
- Affordable housing
- Always interesting things to do & people to meet—2
- Get new viewpoints on life—2

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are....

- You can step on someone else's toes
- Mistrust of different people, even though there is continual contact—4 (one check)
- Misunderstandings—2
- Takes more energy—1
- Property values can "go either way," depending on how the neighborhood goes—4
- People taking "ownership/exclusiveness" to an extreme where others aren't
- Misperception that while people are all rich & black/Hispanics are all poor—1

**Community Forum #2 Northside
Gallery Walk Responses**

1. If I had only one word to describe my community it would be....

- Green & leafy—1
- Ecologically/environmental—3
- Funky—2
- Compatible—1
- Great
- Eclectic—3
- People—1
- Friendly
- Bohemian—2

2. What I want others to know about my community....

- Strive to always improve—5 (two checks)
- It is a friendly community—1 (two checks)
- We want to be a community—1 (two checks)
- I'd like people to know it is safe—2 (one check)
- Proud to live here—4
- Harmony & great community council—1
- Safe & safer as any higher rank community—1
- There are a good number of locally owned businesses providing a wide variety of goods & services—6

3. How I think others view my community....

- Dangerous—9 (six checks)
- Segmented
- Poor—1 (one check)
- Fun—4 (two checks)
- A destination—1 (one check)
- Unsafe-down trodden—2 (one check)
- Too many gay people (one check)
- Gentrified/gentrifying

4. Thinking about community in general

Its greatest strength is....

- Location to interstates & downtown functions—4 (one check)
- It's community spirit— the people here want to be here together—2 (one check)
- Diversity of talents & interests—4 (one check)
- Open to all people—2 (one check)
- Diverse businesses—3

Its biggest challenge is....

- Shopping (stores)
- Keeping children in school—1
- How others view the community—3 (one check)
- Safety/violent crime—4 (one check)
- Getting more people involved in volunteering to solve our problems—5 (one check)
- Drugs & theft
- Derelict properties (one check)
- Slum lords/drug dealers—4 (two checks)

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community....

Our greatest need is....

- More people that appreciate diversity rather than those that aren't as open to meeting people different from themselves
- Compassion
- Economic education—3 (one check)
- To have a goal
- A place to share ideas & make community
- To feel at ease with unfamiliar people—3
- To talk freely & introduce yourself to new neighbors—1
- More involvement from both & all races—2
- Getting people more involved with community & their neighbors—6

Our most important asset is....

- Get to know people and trust them
- Neighbors looking out for each other—3
- A tradition (under current) of bohemianism, even though it hasn't been very prominent until recently—1
- Great place to live & grow a garden, gorgeous architecture—affordable—5
- You are welcomed—2 (one check)
- So many good people who really care—4
- Library—2
- We have so many assets—openness

6. Many Americans say they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income and race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and the reality?

These are the barriers....

- Fear—3
- Getting Involved—5
- Lack of education & not having parents that teach volunteerism & giving to others—2 (two checks)
- Its more difficult (often) to communicate effectively with people who are less like yourself—1 (one check)
- Assumptions of what someone thinks rather than communicating with them—1 (one check)
- Closed minds—2
- Civic Pride
- Economics—1
- Time/peoples lives have become a series of commutes—1

These people or organizations can help.....

- Churches—2 (four checks)
- Schools—2 (three checks)
- Block Parties—4 (four checks)
- Community events—2 (three checks)
- Creating places where people can hangout & communicate like parks with chairs & benches—2 (one check)
- CPOP—1
- Citizens on patrol—1
- Industrial workers of the world (perhaps)
- Accept all—1
- Library programs—1
- Food pantry—1 (one check)
- You—5 (one check)

These are some of the steps we need to take....

- Sub committees with NCC that focus on diversity
- Create activities & places for people to mingle—5
- Find ways to get well educated blacks, latino, etc. people to move into our community, so they can help us to make this a better neighborhood—4
- Begin to focus on creating & maintaining an economy that is all at once fair and ecologically and financially sustainable—1
- More interaction between groups—3
- School credit/civic projects—1
- Talk to more people about what's already going on—4
- Give/show kids a reason to and why they should care—4

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- It's white, black, middle class, upper middle-class, poor, gay, straight, etc.—7 (three checks)
- Many different socioeconomic levels live in Northside—2 (one check)
- There are ways to work things out
- There is a variety of viewpoints and cultural differences—4 (one check)
- Jobs-housing-activities-personal choice—3
- Politically diverse—even within the majority of the liberals there are diverse views
- This community center fosters a native species garden, which helps to maintain biological diversity
- I am a 15 minute walk from Mt. Airy Forest in one direction, and from the heart of the business district in the other—1
- Shake-It Records and Hobo Books! Northside Tavern & The Comet! (cultural crossroads)

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Almost every person I have met in Northside was born & bred here in Cincinnati—1
- There are not enough African-Americans getting involved—3
- Very few events have both black & white people attending together.....like community council meetings, house-tours, porch-tours, this event! Is predominately white & middle class to upper middle class—8 (four checks)
- Everyone I know is an American, with all the cultural and factual biases that our national mindset (not monolithic, but harboring many of the same assumptions) entails

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- Wealth of ideas and approaches to life make living lively, interesting, and amusing—7 (three checks)
- Understanding each other, have a lot of understanding—1 (one check)
- Very interesting to live among people from different backgrounds (one check)
- You are a well informed person—2
- Keeps you awake to the possibilities—5 (one check)

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are...

- Someone may not agree with you—1
- There are good things & bad—1
- There are some people who are inclined to attack others either to rob them or over perceive slights or disagreements—2
- Getting beat-up by teenage black thugs because we have white skin
- Sometimes you don't understand other peoples problem or needs—5
- Assuming you know the cultural differences-stereotypes—8 (five checks)

Secrets Box:

- We are being overwhelmed by violent, low-income, drug-dealing black people because we have so much low income housing, like Section-8. We need more new & remodeled housing.
- Big Challenge: Trying to have opportunities/events that others will come to for diverse populations.
- Big Challenge: the division of the haves (people that can do more) vs. the have nots (people that can't afford to)

**Community Forum #3 Pleasant Ridge
Gallery Walk Responses**

1. If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be...

- It's a walking community (three checks)
- Welcoming—4 (one check)
- Diverse—4 (one check)
- Pregnant!
- Comfortable!
- Friendly—5 (one check)
- Laid Back

2. What I want others to know about my community.....

- It is safe (one check)
- It is tolerant—1 (one check)
- It's a good place to raise a family—6 (three checks)
- (Mostly) quiet & peaceful (one check)
- Composed of good people—1 (two checks)
- All are welcome—2

3. How I think others view my community....

- Mostly positive (one check)
- Good people—3 (two checks)
- Nice older homes (three checks)
- Pity because we don't like the suburbs—4
- Diverse-both negative & positive reactions—7 (one check)
- Some have fear of violence-afraid to go out @ night

4. Thinking about my community in general

Its greatest strength is....

- Not enough commitment to community business (market, pet store)
- The diversity/resources—2 (two checks)
- Location-ease of (automobile) transportation—4 (two checks)
- Community of people involved in making Pleasant Ridge the best it can be—3 (one check)

- Family friendly stability—4 (one check)

Its biggest challenge is....

- Tapping that diversity/resources positively (two checks)
- Having more people involved in the improvement process—4 (one check)
- Adapting housing for an aging demographic—1
- Getting all people (esp. young) to care about where we live—2 (one check)
- Safety-gangs on corners/panhandlers—2
- Involving our diverse groups—2 (one check)

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community,

Our greatest need is....

- Tolerance—2
- More input from more groups—2 (one check)
- Better communication—4
- More exposure to different races/cultures—4 (three checks)
- Education re: different races/cultures (one check)
- Intermingling different groups in mutually beneficial ways—2 (two checks)

Our most important asset is...

- All of us—2
- Willingness to co-exist—7 (one check)
- Friendliness of neighbors—3
- Broad minded—3

6. Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income & race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and reality?

These are the barriers.....

- Poor communication between races—4 (two checks)
- Fear of the unknown (one check)
- Cultural differences
- Crime
- People who have not been exposed to different races/cultures—2 (one check)
- People generally associate with others like themselves—5
- Appearing as patronizing
- Stereotyping
- Fear of saying something that might offend

These people or organizations can help....

- Churches—5 (three checks)
- City & Community leaders—1 (one check)
- Parents—6 (three checks)
- Schools—1 (four checks)
- Police (one check)
- Children (more open-less jaded)
- Sports (one check)

These are some of the steps we need to take.....

- Town hall meetings that are on TV
- Find activities common to different types—1 (one check)
- Try to find ways to reach all groups and get these answers—6 (two checks)
- Education in schools—1 (one check)

- Community-wide activities—5

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- Housing (three checks)
- Employment (two checks)
- Schools (two check)
- Transportation i.e. buses—3 (two checks)
- Age of residents—2 (three checks)
- Racially/ethnically—3 (three checks)
- Economically—7 (two checks)
- Religious/churches
- Higher education

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Living location (address of residence)—5 (one check)
- Where people shop—1
- Schools-1 all AA, 1 mainly white, one to be built—4 (one check)

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- Broad Experiences—1
- Ability to get along-to view issues from other view points—4
- Kids grow-up with better understanding of diversity—6 (four checks)
- Understanding that diversity yields the opportunity to look at problems in different ways to develop solutions from a broader base—2

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are....

- Stereotyping—8
- Fear
- Others don't understand outside of community—2

**Community Forum #4 Pleasant Ridge
Gallery Walk Responses**

1. If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be...

- Asset-rich—1
- Diverse community. People at our church, Nativity, are:
Loving
Caring
Care givers
Generous
Kindly & friendly
Our priest is an angel (F. Paul Deluca)
- "Central" (in more than one sense)—3
- Attractive place to live
- Friendly

2. What I want others to know about my community.....

- People are friendly. They care about their property & schools
- Ripe for development—new capital infusions
- There are many people who are fiercely loyal to this neighborhood—3
- Good investment—1
- Welcoming

3. How I think others view my community....

- Affordable
- See what I want others to know about community to work hand-in-hand to resolve drug issues—2
- While Cincinnati is changing/shrinking and there are negative trends—Pleasant Ridge is always mentioned as a remaining “plus,” in a positive light—3
- Diverse, safe, affordable community for new families (inc. non-traditional families)—1

4. Thinking about my community in general

Its greatest strength is....

- A strong base of civic-minded people
- Sources of community volunteerism
- Hard-working people, mature-trees, comfortable, attractive homes—2
- Aesthetically pleasing neighborhoods—4
- Nativity school

Its biggest challenge is....

- Retaining young families/housing (many move away not because of safety but because of space)—1 (one check)
- To feel safe by watch block people support police district
- Attracting capital investment
- No move-up housing—lack of housing alternatives—4
- Lack of re-investment

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community,

Our greatest need is....

- More business in the Montgomery-Ridge area. Store fronts could be painted, especially Gaslight Café. Business could spruce up their store fronts
- To work together to resolve youth hanging around the streets—drug trafficking
- Turning deteriorated properties around—3
- More residents at a wider range of income

Our most important asset is...

- Ability to attract home ownership
- Small business-people willing to take on economic risks—3 (one check)
- People willing to be friendly helpful to neighbors—1 (one check)
- These children need to be involved. In some activity such as: sports, worship, church groups. Find work for them to get busy to get out of this problem
- Cultural diversity/access to regional offering—arts, history, entertainment

6. Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income & race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and reality?

These are the barriers.....

- Diversity does not equal tolerance
- Engagement—2
- I think these are old habits that die hard
- Residents should extend themselves & be friendly to those perceived as “different”
- Incompatible family dynamics, more than economic or racial/cultural barriers seem to create divisions—1
- They have to find jobs for poor people who sometimes force themselves to be not what they suppose to be—1

These people or organizations can help....

- 1 on 1 individual—1
- Churches & schools—2 (one check)
- Major employers/institutions
- Business, churches, schools—almost any civic group—rarely does the city/local government help. Sometimes it's block by block. Know your neighbors!
- Individuals can extend personal invitations to community events or block parties, etc.—1

These are some of the steps we need to take.....

- Multi-National/Multi-Cultural celebrations
- Outreach—i.e. “highlight” different PR residents in PR—e.g. like “neighbor of the month”
- I agree
- Encourage people to spend their \$ \$ on local businesses at every available opportunity—give your \$ \$ to your neighbors by way of their business—1
 1. Clubs—2
 2. Churches
 3. Sports (maybe)
 4. Helping with societies
 5. Be involved with after school activities

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- Within D/E spectrum
- They are living equally:
 - Housing
 - Schools
 - Jobs
 - Churches
 - Sharing everything
 - I am St. Vincent De Paul Member
- We always really helping neighbor
- Helping neighbors regardless of their individual race, color, religion
- We have people of many ethnic groups. We also have people of different sexual persuasions.
- Economic, racial/cultural and religious and sexual orientation
- My block has rabbis, catholics, atheists, and gay couples—4

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Monolithic community council presence
- Living/housing opportunities—3
- Employment opportunities—2
- They need counseling to find work to get rid of bad behavior trafficking drugs especially in Kennedy Ave.
- Renters vs. people who own property the housing was “diverse” for 50 yrs. ago

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- “Real World” life experience (empathy/understanding/concern)
- Strong sense of community/history
- Central location, small businesses, “walkable”—neighbors look out for each other and more importantly the kids—4 (one check)
- Stimulating—(one check)
- Reflective of the real world—2

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are....

- Real estate deprivation
- Perception of outsiders negatively influences investment (bankers!)

- Potential for day-to-day tensions
- People could blame or scapegoat others for problems or tensions—1
- People are afraid of these youth hanging, gathering in each area—1
- Perceptions—yes, there is a small amount of crime and risk, but the fearful reaction is completely overblown—2
- Don't live here if you're not tolerant at least in the most basic sense—2

Community Forum #5 Madisonville Gallery Walk Responses

1. If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be...

- Mixed—5 (one check)
- Thriving—15 (one check)
- Home—1
- On the rise
- Friendly—2 (two checks)
- Safe—1 (one check)
- Diverse—6 (three checks)
- "Just right"
- Family—5 (three checks)
- Comfortable—2 (two checks)
- Up & coming—6 (three checks)
- Fun—5 (two checks)
- Great, very comfortable, accessible—5 (two checks)

2. What I want others to know about my community.....

- It is a safe community—1 (two checks)
- It's a good place to live—9 (two checks)
- Busy looking after our community—1 (one check)
- Untapped resourceful community between Hyde Park/Indian Hills—7 (three checks)
- It's potentially rich—3 (one check)
- It's safe & neighbors care about each other—2 (two checks)
- The community is looking forward to growth & improvement
- Hoping to grow
- A lot of history—2
- It has potential—4 (two checks)
- Affordable houses—2 (one check)
- Trying to make it family friendly
- It's an accepting & diverse neighborhood—3 (three checks)

3. How I think others view my community....

- Unsafe in some areas—4 (one check)
- Not a very good place—3 (one check)
- High crime—1 (three checks)
- Not enough businesses—5 (two checks)
- Low income housing—1 (one check)
- Unjustly—2
- Unsafe/dangerous—4 (two checks)
- Unsafe/not clean—2 (two checks)
- Drugs & crime—3
- Mostly African-American & mostly poor—12 (two checks)
- Not a good place to raise children

- A “up and coming” community—1
- Too far out—(one check)
- Not enough quality stores & restaurants—1

4. Thinking about my community in general

Its greatest strength is.....

- Good neighbors, working together—1
- Churches working together—2 (two checks)
- Working together no matter what people say
- Its people—7 (two checks)
- Diversity in many ways—racially, ethnically, economically, architecturally, etc.—5 (one check)
- Low cost homes, location—3 (one check)
- Outreach programs from churches—1 (one check)
- Acceptance of others—3
- Location—diversity—2 (two checks)
- Churches—(two checks)
- New housing developments—1 (three checks)
- Established neighborhood—4 (one check)

Its biggest challenge is....

- Keeping yards clean-cut—(one check)
- Litter control—(one check)
- Helping the young people & young men—1 (three checks)
- Getting new business—3 (two checks)
- The people—1 (one check)
- Overcoming the perception that Madisonville is unsafe and not a viable place to live—1 (two checks)
- Few local businesses—2 (one check)
- Getting along with people—5 (one check)
- Blighted homes—4 (one check)
- Invite crime
- Lack of recognition—1 (one check)
- Perception of & actual crime activity on the streets—1 (one check)
- To see ourselves as one—1
- Making our business district comparable to our neighbors—7 (two checks)

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community,

Our greatest need is....

- Communication & outreach—2 (one check)
- Willingness to keep a support network for all community members, including substance abuse, single young parents, underachievers—(one check)
- Businesses and something for the youth—12 (two checks)
- Shopping (drug store)—1 (two checks)
- Unconditional love & acceptance—4
- Learning from each other
- Innovative ways to keep crime off the streets—6
- Prevention/intervention/services—6

Our most important asset is...

- We are accepting of people who are diverse which includes seniors, singles, bi-racial couples, gay/lesbian, disabled, undereducated children—9 (four checks)
- Communication
- Faith—8 (four checks)

- We are a melting pot, we already have the diversity, now we need to nurture it—3 (two checks)
- Churches—10 (three checks)
- Our children—6 (two checks)
- The people in general
- Neighbors—1

6. Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income & race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and reality?

These are the barriers.....

- Creating equal access to jobs—9
- Income—8 (one check)
- Need to create more business—7 (three checks)
- Poor Cincinnati schools (the perception of this)—5 (four checks)
- Not enough activities for whole community—5 (one check)
- Attitude toward one another—1 (one check)
- A feeling of hopelessness by young people who feel they can't compete in the workforce because of being unprepared—1 (two checks)
- Have not achieved at least 10th grade reading level, writing, & math levels—3 (two checks)
- Lack of computer technology skills—2 (one check)
- Poor work ethic—2 (one check)
- Lack of affordable housing—6 (one check)
- Trust—5 (one check)
- Classism—4 (one check)

These people or organizations can help....

- Government officials, city council—5 (one check)
- City of Cincinnati by allocating more funds for our community—6 (one check)
- Outspoken community members organized for a common good (squeaky wheel theory)—6
- Police—1
- United community members agreeing on several concepts—7
- Invite a respected CDC (community development corporation) to work in Madisonville—1
- NAMUSA

These are some of the steps we need to take.....

- Stop being afraid—1
- Improve our school systems, so that all children may receive equal education—17 (four checks)
- Recreate the neighborhood schools/walk to schools—6 (one check)
- Need to form more block clubs—3 (four checks)
- Need to create an environment for more dialogue between residents—10 (four checks)
- More activities in school—2
- Make sure ALL children including children with disabilities are given training for jobs and opportunity to reach for the "stars"—5 (one check)
- Provide incentives for business and home owners; i.e. grants or tax abatement to fix abandoned buildings—10 (two checks)
- Get more people involved in community council—7 (one check)
- Speak-up—8
- Open your heart—4

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- Different kinds of people with different economic backgrounds—16 (five checks)
- Small houses, large houses, apartments—(five checks)
- Different races & classes—3 (four checks)
- We are accepting of all members—5 (four checks)

- Private vs. public education—5 (two checks)
- Educational background—4 (one check)
- People are willing to help—4 (one check)
- People from all walks of life—9 (three checks)

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Keeping crime off the streets—I feel my neighborhood is not as important to police as Hyde Park for example—12 (seven checks)
- Home ownership—5
- We do not have business that represent our diverse background—3 (one check)
- Sectional communication barriers—2
- Social status—3 (one check)
- Few opportunities for socialization—4
- Higher income families sending their children to private schools—4 (two checks)
- We need more business in the community—3 (two checks)

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- Many different points of view (opinions)—5 (two checks)
- Sharing of cultures—1 (two checks)
- Mixed communities—1 (two checks)
- You get to know your neighbors—(four checks)
- My children get to experience different things and see different people. They're not sheltered—9 (five checks)
- We can expand our knowledge of others—2 (one check)
- Keeps us learning about other cultures—6 (three checks)
- Sharing ideas with each others—1 (one check)
- A village raises its own—4
- Lots of different friends, from different places—(four checks)
- Can undo stereotypes—6 (three checks)
- Sidewalks—(one check)

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are....

- Conflict—1 (one check)
- Too many different opinions—can't agree on implementing ideas—4
- Cultural differences—5 (one check)
- Honesty, the willingness to listen to others—7 (one check)
- We are forces to grow in our way of seeing others—1
- An isolated life cannot be lived. We will have to socialize with others—3
- People will be changed (mindset)—3
- People who crave control instead of working honestly with neighbors to make a change—3
- Not showing respect & trust toward each other—15 (one check)
- Can reinforce stereotypes
- You risk expanding your universe!
- Learning to be more tolerant—4

Secrets Box:

- Most people are congenial, beautiful neighbors
- Dope addicts are a problem, whites from Indian Hill brought dope here
- Our greatest need is.....housing, seniors & rental
- Our most important asset is.....location to church
- It feels safe on my street, the kids do not play together, whites/blacks do not interact—whites live on other side of tracks
- Opportunity to interact with someone different is a benefit, not that many whites in the area

- More whites moving in on the other side
- Years ago was merger of Bramble area into Madisonville
- Our needs are we would like to know about the city planning, please help

Community Forum #6 Madisonville Gallery Walk Responses

1. If I only had one word to describe my community, it would be...

- Modest
- Friendly—2 (two checks)
- Potential—8
- Livable—2 (two checks)
- Historical—(two checks)
- Transitioning—1 (one check)
- Progressive—(one check)

2. What I want others to know about my community.....

- It is not what it seems—2 (two checks)
- Not dangerous—2 (two checks)
- Outsiders come to support drug activity—4 (three checks)
- Diverse, but stable—2 (two checks)
- Safe—2 (two checks)
- Great place to live—6 (two checks)
- More than just Madison & Whetsel—5 (two checks)
- Friendly—1

3. How I think others view my community....

- Poor & dangerous—9 (five checks)
- Run down—3 (three checks)
- Drug dealers have taken over—(two checks)
- Not diverse—(three checks)
- Main streets without stores or businesses—Madison Rd & Whetsel—1 (one check)
- Diverse, but lacking growth opportunities—depending on income level—2 (two checks)
- Drugs infested—poor business district—2 (two checks)
- Not safe—4 (one check)

4. Thinking about my community in general

Its greatest strength is.....

- Location—7 (six checks)
- More single housing units
- Convenience to Hyde Park & Kenwood shopping areas
- It is like being in a small town nestled in the hills
- Home ownership—1 (two checks)
- Historic architecture—3 (four checks)
- Affordable housing—9 (four checks)
- History of its diversity—1

Its biggest challenge is....

- Absentee or vacant properties—5 (four checks)
- To find things to remove young people standing on the corner also to reduce drug problems—1 (three checks)
- Drugs—2 (one check)

- Rebuilding the business district—9 (four checks)
- Jobs for our youth—1
- Housing stock not maintained due to lack of income of residents/owners—2 (three checks)
- Establishing good neighborhood businesses—1 (one check)
- Erasing the negative thinking/perception about Madisonville—positive projects, successes—2 (one check)
- Too many empty housing stock—2
- Too many empty business properties—2

5. With respect to diversity issues in my community,

Our greatest need is....

- Dental clinic—3 (two checks)
- Pharmacy—2 (three checks)
- Grocery stores—1 (four checks)
- More civic contact—festivals, etc. (three checks)
- Safety—(one check)
- Employment for youth—4 (two checks)
- More youth to complete their education—1 (three checks)
- Changing the perception—better marketing—6 (two checks)
- Development in vacant lots—4 (two checks)
- More cultural diversity (Hispanics, Asians, etc.)
- Places to experience community—get people out on streets (coffee houses)—2 (two checks)
- Figure a way to link blocks/mini-neighborhoods together as part of the bigger community—4 (three checks)
- More seed money for business growth opportunities—(two checks)
- Participation at the Rec. Center

Our most important asset is...

- Low crime—1 (three checks)
- Friendly neighbors—3 (three checks)
- People who want to make Madisonville better & are willing to do something about it—2
- Location—71-75—1 (two checks)
- Down the Hill from shopping—(one check)
- Large affordable housing—10 (three checks)
- Senior population with wisdom—2 (three checks)
- Community members who have lived here for many years. They understand diversity—2 (two checks)

6. Many Americans say that they value diversity and yet our communities are divided by lines of income & race. How do we begin bridging the gap between our vision and reality?

These are the barriers.....

- Perceptions of outsiders—5 (two checks)
- Cultures—white, black, etc.
- Lack of understanding of each other—5 (two checks)
- Closed minds who want to block progress—(one check)
- Preconceived ideas on other people based on the way we were raised—1 (two checks)
- Biased news coverage—5 (5 checks)
- Blacks naturally suspicious of whites & vice versa—2 is this so? Does this have to be? How is that changed

These people or organizations can help....

- Media—4 (two checks)
- Community council—1 (four checks)

- City government—3
- Neighbors need to come out
- Anyone who lives in the community who wants to be open to a vision—10 (two checks)
- Supporting the youth—start early—1 (two checks)

These are some of the steps we need to take.....

- More community get-togethers: more personal contact—1 (five checks)
- People working together—4 (one check)
- Community projects—9 (one check)
- Invite people one-on-one to participate in community improvement—2
- Encourage our youth to stay in school—2
- Better publicity of what is good—before & after events—(two checks)
- Feeding that city leaders care about the neighborhood—1
- People helping my business—as by hiring me more often—1

7. My community is diverse in these ways....

- Racially—6 (ten checks)
- Age—1 (eight checks)
- Income—4 (eight checks)
- Renter/Home Owner—2 (7 checks)
- I would like to know more about city plan—1 (one check)
- Community activities—3
- St. Anthony Church
- Religious—(two checks)
- Mixed race on my street—by homes—(one check)
- Community council—mixed race—(one check)

8. My community is not diverse in these ways.....

- Retail options—2 (three checks)
- No bakery—(three checks)
- No drug store—1 (three checks)
- One hardware store—1 (three checks)
- Downtown area—a place to meet & “hang out”—1 (two checks)
- No grocery—(one check)
- Block diversity—streets are largely segregated by block—2 (one check)
- Income—(one check)
- Is diverse only as far as black/white goes, no Hispanics, Asians, East Indian, American Indian, etc.—6 (one check)

9. The benefits to living in a diverse community are....

- Opportunities to talk with people with different backgrounds—1 (five checks)
- Expanding our universal views...being in the real world—(three checks)
- Better understanding of people—1 (three checks)
- Being open to all walks, talks of life—4 (one check)
- Having the opportunity to be a good neighbor. As well as to have good/friendly helpful neighbors—2
- Being a role-model for children born here/going to school here—1 (one check)
- Building interdependent relationships—2
- Familiarity with other races/cultures

10. The risks to living in a diverse community are....

- Misunderstanding/inaccurate assumptions by outsiders—4 (one check)
- None—4 (seven checks)

- When it becomes less diverse, due to older residents home owners leaving & slumlords buying our affordable housing
- How would city black problems as riots in 2001, impact blacks in my neighborhood—2
- Black on white crime as from druggies & back gangs—1

Secrets Box:

- The current administration (community council president & some board members) is not open to diversity. Past administration were very inclusive.

Photovoice Raw Results

Photovoice Session #1 November 8, 2006

Jim Abbott, Pleasant Ridge:

Diversity as expressed by physical structures. Businesses have to adapt to the neighborhood.

Diversity in terms of hair care



A local meeting place, Gil's Barber shop. Mostly serves white males.

Diversity in eating



Pleasant Ridge Chili is a culturally and racially diverse eatery



Molly Malone's—the old Dubliner—a more upscale place to eat. Very few African Americans



The Burger King has been here since 1970



Gaslight Café—a local place



A new restaurant that serves authentic African food. It draws Africans and people from the University District



A Mexican cart



A soul food cart

These images paint a picture of diversity. To get to know the people in your neighborhood, drive the business district.

The advantages of this are that you can eat anywhere

The issues are that the housing stock is affected by lower income housing. It has an impact on the environment. The houses that are Section 8 affect the surrounding areas. To fix the problem, the city built a 6 foot high chain fence around a housing project. This was an attempt to slow people who were running from the cops down, keep people in and keep people out.

Photovoice Session #2
November 9, 2006

Sheila Kinnen, Pleasant Ridge:



This photo shows another type of housing that we have in Pleasant Ridge—we have many apartment buildings. One of the things I have heard many times is that renters don't have as much investment (I guess figuratively as well as literally) in a community as home owners do. I wish there was a way to reach renters who are very much engaged in the community. I am glad we have lots of rental property available for those who want or need it (again our economic diversity)—but I would like to find ways to help everyone care about our community's survival.

Cheril Tribble, Madisonville:



This is Bible Way Church, it was our United Methodist Church (UMC) 10-20 years ago. It moved from a one-room church to this building after it got enough money. Barber gave money to this church, they started with services in the basement until they have enough money to build the top part. They sold this church to Lil' Abraham.



Gains United Methodist Church, very diverse church. Family church was how it started, with just families at first. Very friendly and is our church now. It shows that our church is open to all. Gains is very involved in the community in things like the food pantry. This church is located in a white Methodist conference, always mingling with other people.



This is Liberty Baptist Church, they have a mostly black congregation. Their leader was a dominant figure in the community and he retired. Churches in Madisonville are very diverse—Korean, White, Black, Catholic. People come from all over Cincinnati (travel over an hour) just to worship here.



This is St. Anthony Catholic Church and I can remember the nuns walking down the street when I was a little girl. It has been in the community for a long time. Diversity in the churches in Madisonville, you need to have several worship options in a diverse community. It enhances your neighborhood to have all those different choices.

Marjorie Gillispie, Madisonville:



This picture shows the diversity of businesses in Madisonville area. The owners of this establishment live in Madisonville and this dealership is owned by a female.



A sign for the Korean UMC, shows that they have services in English and Korean. Sign is a good example that diverse people may not live in community, but come to the community. Churches came together and donated money to get Madisonville's senior citizen center out of trouble.



House on Erie that is being redone. I think it is historical, but I'm not sure. The city owns this house now, as go down Erie you see old houses that people are remodeling and they are gorgeous. They will have a festival here where people dress and act like the turn of the 20th century and you can tour the old homes.

Addie Hunter, Madisonville:



My neighbor across the street, moved in from Norwood. Worked with kids downtown at Christ Center, he's white and harmonious, he said:

"Living in a Diverse neighborhood is extremely important, as there is a need to understand and get along with all individuals to create a harmonious environment."

John & Beth Finn, Pleasant Ridge:



This is Nativity church/school. The picture of the Farmers' Market at Nativity is representative of the impact Nativity has on the neighborhood. This picture was taken late in the season, on a rainy Monday afternoon. Normally there is a larger crowd at the market. The market is open on Monday afternoons, from June through October. Nativity (as well as the other churches in the neighborhood) strives to be a welcoming community year-round.



This is Hana Strickland, Jo Jo, and Akiko Strickland. My wife describes Pleasant Ridge as a “walking” community. We walk our dog several times a day. In the morning, we tend to take Roxy on a longer walk (good for her, and good for us). Whichever one of us takes her for her first walk typically takes a route past Akiko’s house. Akiko walks Jo Jo about the same time as Roxy gets her walk. That is how we came to know Akiko. On the recent Pleasant Ridge Clean-up/Green-up Day, Akiko took part along with another lady who walks her dog on the same route, to clean up some of the neighborhood streets. It is people like Akiko that make Pleasant Ridge a nice place to live.



This is 1000 Hands Playground at Pleasant Ridge Park. A few years ago, the 1000 Hands Playground was built by local volunteers. This was one example of people from many different backgrounds working together for the common good. The result is an imaginative play structure that serves as a focal point for the park.



This is the Pleasant Ridge Presbyterian Church Cemetery. The names on the stones are a lot of names you see on street signs. Old, established family names dating back to the 1700's.



This is David Dukart, Branch Manager, Pleasant Ridge Library. David is the self-appointed guardian of Pleasant Ridge history. In the photograph, David is standing in front of a bookcase containing volumes of information about the history of Pleasant Ridge. This is a labor of love for David. Our community is fortunate to have such a custodian of the neighborhood artifacts.

Photovoice Session #3
November 14, 2006

Dora George, Madisonville:



This is a meeting of the CPOP team, one of our community diversity teams that exist in Madisonville, we meet twice a month. People coming together from different walks of life to make our community better. It allows people who have never been together before to come together. One of the strengths of diversity is how it brings different perspectives from different people and allows everyone to see the other side.

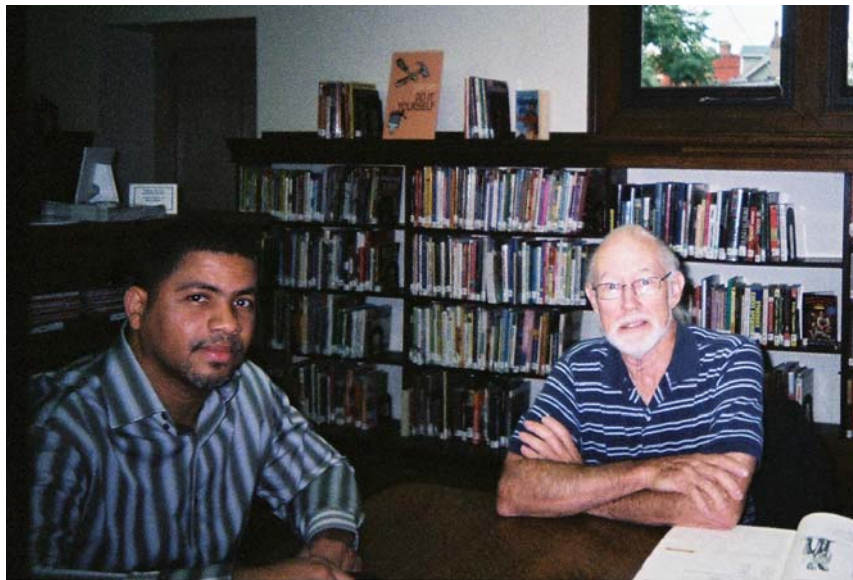


Another picture showing the police presence at the CPOP meetings. Police come to learn about culture of Madisonville and gives them a chance to learn the residents and their issues in the community.



People from the CPOP who have a deep interest and raised funds for things such as their mini job fair. Neighborhood youth street workers from Cincinnati Human Resources created the second chance program for faith based groups to help felons by having a church member mentor a felon. Over 160 people turn out for the mini-job fair and there are other resources offered at this fair.

Bill McCormick, Northside:



Myself and a man I am tutoring in the adult literacy program. I have been working with him for 2½ years. This is my attempt to help with the literacy problem and I have been working with adults for several years now through the YWCA.

Karen Andrew, Northside:



Northside green space area where they are planting native plants and this was an event where people came to help plant and clean it up. This guy came with his two young children to help. He was showing them how to get involved. Impressed that he came, this is the kind of diversity we need.



African store in Northside. Really like that downtown area is filled & busy with different things. Not just one type of business

Douglas Striker, Northside:



John Davis & Amy Smith

Oct. 21, 2006 Halloween Party

Guests dressed up as a jail bird, and Dorothy from the W. of OZ at a Halloween party.

This is an image of 2 separate home owners of Northside. John has been rehabbing his house on Old Ludlow for a couple of years now. He is a new homeowner to Northside. 8 months ago Amy purchased the house on Dane that she grew up in. It had changed hands many times since the late 80's. She purchased the home when it was vacant and boarded up with squatters living there. Prior to her it had been occupied by individuals that did not care for it the way her family had when she grew up there, and she has been working hard to restore it as well.

This obviously shows new residents moving into the neighborhood who appreciate the potential of some of the wonderful homes here, as well as, folks moving back to the neighborhood they grew up in. Even reclaiming the home they grew up in.

Both of these residents illustrate the revitalization that is happening in our neighborhood. Their costumes reflect the creativity and whimsy of its residence.



Durand Carrol & Brett Barnard

Oct. 21, 2006 Halloween Party

Guests dressed as a Voodoo charmer, and a Jamaican.

Durand has lived in Northside for most of the past 10 years. He has been a tenant in a couple apts, and houses, then moved to Clifton for a short time, and then about 1.5 years ago bought the house he now shares with his boyfriend, Brett. They also rent space in their house to another friend not shown here who has lived in Northside for about 3 years.

Durand use to be a tenant of my landlady years ago who will be described in the next photo. He has had room mates, and lived on his own in Northside. He grew up in Madisonville, and has lived in various parts of the Cincinnati area. He settled in Northside as it is an affordable place to purchase a home, and a number of his friends live in the area. He and Brett have also been rehabbing their home.

Brett works from home, and also owns property in nearby Price Hill which he rents out.

I believe this shows Northside to be a stable neighborhood once again drawing residents to it from perhaps less stable neighborhoods.



Erica Riddick & Barb Liphardt

Oct. 21, 2006 Halloween Party

Guests dressed as herself, and a vampire.

Erica and Barb are the last 2 guests featured in my Halloween photos. They actually met each other at my party, and realized they both like to participate in ball room dancing.

Erica has lived in Northside for at least 13 years. She had rented for a number of years, and use to be my upstairs neighbor at my previous apt. She purchased a house on Vandalia about 4 years ago. She not only lives in Northside, but also works as an architect here, and is active as an officer on Northside's Community Council.

Barb is my Landlady. She has owned her own home for 11 years, and purchased the home I live in (with 3 other roommates and another separate tenant) a little over a year ago. Her home is right next to mine, and she said she purchased it as her security for retirement. She is self employed as a Lic. Massage Therapist, is of course a Landlady, and works outside of the home as well. Between the two properties she takes care of 2 organic gardens.

I believe these two ladies truly demonstrate the pride in ownership and involvement that has continued to keep Northside a stable community.

Summary

In looking at these photos some may say that there is a disconnect between the image of the residents waiting at the food pantry, and those enjoying a festive Halloween party. I must admit that I see it also, and that a party atmosphere may not convey the most natural settings of our neighborhood. However, how do we know that the residents making use of the food pantry weren't enjoying their own seasonal celebrations this month.

What I hope we can agree upon is that both those in need, and those with enough add to the diversity of a neighborhood. There will always be “the haves, and the have not’s”. However its how these groups work together to support each other, and show gratitude for what we do have that a stable neighborhood can be appreciated. I, myself, live fairly meagerly, but my friends are amazed at how well I live. I tell them it’s mostly because of them and my community that I feel I have so much.

Diane Stroud, Northside:



St. Bonaventure School, I’m the school librarian. This shows that kids don’t see a difference in race, they just get along. Important that they are taught this at an early age. They get along great and spend lots of time together.



At the community council meeting, Bill McCormick is on the left and Ed Thomas on the right. They are working together to better their community. Everyone wants what is best for Northside.



The day of the home tour. We had a craft fair at the McKie Center that day. These women look like they were having fun. We are trying to get more people together.

Steve Lilly, Pleasant Ridge:



Mary Jane has been in Pleasant Ridge for years and has owned a beauty shop. She is in her 80's. Black guy brings her hamburgers and a white guy brings her coffee. They take care of her in their diverse community.

Author Note

I would like to thank several entities and individuals without whom this research would not have been possible.

First, to the Cincinnati Association, who championed the idea for this research and especially Brandon Wiers for serving as a project leader and editor. Thank you for the opportunity to do this important research. I would also like to acknowledge the Stephen H. Wilder foundation for the funding for this research.

Next, I would like to recognize the work of Regina Livers who co-facilitated the Large Group Community events and Mary Mullins, the overall research assistant, who was invaluable in recruitment, planning and execution of the events. The input from the other Principal Investigator; Fritz Casey-Leininger was helpful in several areas—conceptualizing this research, planning the implementation, and coordinating the reporting. I would like to express gratitude to all three of these individuals who were closely involved in this phase of the research.

Thanks go to the neighborhood community council presidents who helped extensively with recruiting—Paul Green of Northside and Prencis Wilson of Madisonville. Their enthusiasm for the project was contagious for the other members of their community. Finally, to all of the participants themselves—thanks for your candor and passion for spreading the "secrets" of stable integrated neighborhoods to others.

Afterword

The findings of the research reported here are avowedly a snapshot in time and thus may change when the 2010 census is taken. As a case in point, staff of the Hamilton County Regional Planning commission recently compared 2000 data with more recent 2005 data and found that black population growth in Hamilton County is leveling off. "Census 2005 estimates (for Hamilton County) reveal a growth rate of only 0.5% between 2000 and 2005, but surrounding counties experienced much larger growth rates," they said.¹ Dearborn County's black population growth was 32.5%, Boone's was 88.8%, Campbell's was 32.0%, Butler's was 29.5%, Clermont's was 45.0%, and Warren County's was 45.3%. Thus, "The region may also be increasing in diversity, and out-migration from Hamilton County may now include large percentages of Blacks."

The findings are also but a part of much larger picture, in two respects. First, we were unable to visit the 11 communities that, besides the three in which direct neighborhood research was done, qualified as integrated communities for the last three censuses. Each of these additional communities undoubtedly has a story to tell which is eminently worth capturing. Resource limitations regrettably prevented this.

Second, it is possible to use census data to acquire more information than we did about underlying factors. For example, Richard Florida² determined the relative numbers of blue-collar or service workers and professional or technical workers, i.e., the economic integration, of communities and from that a number called the Bohemian Index. This was one component of a Composite Diversity Index, along with Gay Index and Melting Pot Index data, which he also derived from census data.

The last of these indexes, which measures the relative percentage of foreign-born people in a neighborhood, is especially relevant to integrated community stability according to Sheryll Cashin.³ She found that stability correlates strongly with the total number of ethnic groups in a community. Also, in her view, schools play an especially crucial role in neighborhood stabilization, a variable not included within the scope of this work. Overall, she found only two dozen stably integrated communities in the entire United States. Shaker Heights and Cleveland Heights are the only two Ohio communities on the list at this time.

Finally, the work reported here challenges conventional thinking by virtue of the finding that some neighborhoods, which would have been expected to surpass 90% black, once a certain threshold (or "tipping point") was reached, did not do so. In Hamilton County, Kennedy Heights is one example, and there may be others, which have reached or will reach a diversity "set point" beyond which they will proceed no further. This is another avenue of study that deserves exploration.

Because of this challenge to conventional wisdom—and in spite of being limited in time and scope—the findings of the two studies reported here constitute a solid step in the direction toward creating “Neighborhoods of Choice,” as called for in a memo to Cincinnati’s Urbanists.⁴ In order for Cincinnati to become a city of choice, rather than one that continues to lose population, the memo said, “The City of Cincinnati and local foundations must help each neighborhood in the city develop and implement a concrete, practical, *citizen-based* marketing plan that ‘sells’ the neighborhood based on its unique assets and identity. These plans need to be based on sound market analysis and include strategies to improve the housing product, civic assets (like parks and walkable districts) and consumer amenities (business districts) in the neighborhoods.”

The “sound market analysis” called for by the Urbanists has actually been underway, in part, for some time. Reynolds Farley and colleagues,^{5,6} among others, have researched the residential preferences of blacks and whites in Detroit, Los Angeles, Boston, and Atlanta. Their findings are that “given a choice of neighborhoods, blacks would select an integrated location . . . that is 50–50 or has a slight predominance of blacks.” In the cities that were studied there are few such neighborhoods to choose from. Because of this and because of feeling unwelcome in predominantly white neighborhoods, along with certain systemic factors traceable to discrimination in housing and lending markets, integration progress has been very slow.

The results of this work suggest increasing receptivity of whites toward blacks in their neighborhoods. In fact, Hamilton County may soon have several additional stable integrated communities in its inventory, a condition a majority of both blacks and whites find desirable. This is eminently worthy of celebration and promotion as a unique feature of the character of Hamilton County.

B. H. Wiers
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¹ Private Communication, John Huth, Senior Planner, Hamilton County Regional Planning Commission, Mar. 12, 2007.

² Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (Basic Books: New York, 2002).

³ Cashin, Sheryll. *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class are Undermining the American Dream* (Public Affairs: New York, 2004).

⁴ Stec, Jeffrey, Terry Grundy, George Zarny. Email memo to Cincinnati Urbanists, July 14, 2006, available at jeffreystec@gmail.com.

⁵ Farley, Reynolds, Elaine L. Fielding, Maria Krysan, “The Residential Preferences of Blacks and Whites: A Four-Metropolis Analysis.” *Housing Policy Debate*, 8(4): 763–800, 1997.

⁶ Krysan, Maria, Reynolds Farley. “The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?” *Social Forces*, 80(3): 937–980, 2002.